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NAPOLEON'S NOTES ON ENGLISH HISTORY

UNIFORM WITH THIS BOOK

BY THE SAME EDITOR

NAPOLEON'S LETTERS

TO

JOSEPHINE

1796–1812

For the first time Collected and Translated with Notes Social, Historical, and Chronological from Contemporary Sources.

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Paul de Rapin, Seigneur de Thoyras.
Soldier & Historian.

NAPOLEON'S NOTES
ON
ENGLISH HISTORY

MADE ON THE EVE OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION. ILLUSTRATED FROM CONTEMPORARY HISTORIANS

AND REFRESHED FROM THE FINDINGS OF LATER RESEARCH

BY

HENRY FOLJAMBE HALL
F.R.HIST.S.

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TO

FRÉDERIC MASSON

OF THE FRENCH ACADEMY

WHO, CHIEF AMONG HISTORIANS
OF THE FRENCH EMPIRE
HAS FOUND

THE MAN

IN MEMORIAM

WHILE the last proofs of this book were passing through the press the Author was seized by a sudden attack of an old complaint, and passed away in the very height of his manhood and of his faculties.

It devolves on me—his friend and publisher—to say with what eagerness he used his life, and so rapidly burnt it up that he could not have hoped to have lived to an old age. The very strenuousness and eagerness of his living was beyond what his physical nature could endure.

In his forty years of life he accomplished an immense amount of work; but of all the tasks he undertook—and they were almost numberless—the one he set himself con amore *was the determination to unveil and clear from the rubbish and mud-throwing of a hundred years the character of his hero Napoleon—that his compatriots might see him as he was, and to make them understand the "man" without prejudice and with knowledge.*

Napoleon had become the romance of his life, nay, one may almost say its passion; and he was always eagerly on the watch for evidence to clear away calumny which he believed surrounded and hid a hero of a noble ambition.

He was a student of the keenest order, revelling in detail, leaving nothing undone that was possible to make a fact more sure, never counting any task too hard if it made for the goal of completeness.

As so often happens in human affairs, his work was only partly

accomplished, and he lived not to see the crown of it. Practically he gave up his last hours to this piece of work. He had planned other books upon his great hero—now, alas, never to see the light! but this piece of work he did accomplish, leaving his devoted wife only the last revision of the proofs.

After all, it was a life of great fulness compressed into a few years, and he passed from us in complete harness and fighting to the last.

The private griefs of those who knew him and who loved him are not for exhibition here, but these few words at least it seems may well be spoken.

J. M. DENT.

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VIEW OF AUXONNE, WHERE THE NOTE-BOOKS WERE COMPILED . . . . . „ 125

The kindness of Messrs. Flammarion & Vaillant in granting permission for the reproduction of the picture of Auxonne from the book by M. Bois, entitled "Napoléon Buonaparte, Lieutenant d'Artillerie à Auxonne," published by them, must be gratefully acknowledged. Also many thanks are due to Signor Biagi, who obtained the photograph of the page of Napoleon's manuscript here reproduced.

"*Whose mind, the vast machine of tireless haste,*
Took up but solids for its glowing seal.

* * * * * *

Within his hot brain's hammering workshop hummed
A thousand furious wheels at whirr, untired
As Nature in her reproductive throes."

—GEORGE MEREDITH, "Napoleon"
(*Cosmopolis*, April, 1898).

INTRODUCTION

NEXT to its own folk-lore, a nation probably pays most reluctant respect to a serious contemplation of its own history. It is, therefore, not surprising that the most luminous annals of a nation are often written by a foreigner. The hackneyed incidents, the just discrimination between what belongs to the almanack and what to a dictionary of dates, can best be dealt with adequately and dispassionately by an outsider. Such outsiders were Napoleon, Rapin, and Ranke — men enormously different in all but a common love of accurate work, and as free from bias as any that can be found in the world's long line of historians.

In my opening chapter (for permission to republish which I am indebted to the courtesy of the proprietors of the *Fortnightly Review*) I have dealt at length with Napoleon's *rôle* as an eighteenth-century student of history. His notes have special significance, moreover, when we think of the man behind the pen. "A literary man," wrote Disraeli in 1852, "who is also a man of action, is a two-edged weapon ; nor should it be forgotten that Caius Julius and Frederick the Great were both eminently literary characters, and yet were perhaps the most distinguished men of action of modern times." Considering the very poor material at his disposal, Napoleon's almost invariably right judgment seems marvellous, and his verdicts, generally the very opposite of those of his author, who kept to the orthodox ruts of eighteenth-century opinion, are those of a hundred years later.

It is however my object not merely to reproduce Napoleon's Note-Books, but to supplement them in such a way that they may give a bird's-eye view of every reign, a view "philosophical enough for scholars, and popular enough for schoolboys." [1] Just as two stations conveniently far apart are necessary for astronomical measurements, so the contrasted views of the eighteenth and nineteenth century historians (who worked largely on the same materials) should furnish a parallax enabling us to arrive at right conclusions. Dr. Prothero told us a year ago that "the greatest historian is probably he who is able to make the fullest use of his predecessors." This is very helpful advice, for lately it has been rather the fashion to ignore intermediate writers (*i.e.* all between the "Sources" and the latest text-book)—as if learning were a thing of to-day, and of a different order of merit because labelled "expert" or "scientific."

The more or less unrealisable ideal is the maximum of information with the minimum of dulness. Let us by all means strive to be Niebuhrs, as far as we can, in unbandaging mummies, or laying bare the works of the lying oracles of the past, always remembering that a picturesque incident need not necessarily be a sun-myth. That the verdicts of history are as important to national life as the dictates of conscience to personal life is a great truth; but which verdicts? Is the latest Court of Appeal final, and why? Writers who quaff the Pierian spring of history at its source are apt to end in mental typhoid. Is the old-fashioned solid stone filter of Rapin never to be tested again, or do we really prefer the "metallic flavour," of which Oliver Wendell Holmes [2] speaks, and which, as regards England, began with the showy *filtre rapide* of Hume, and ended in the aromatic germicides of Macaulay and Froude?

Honour to the eighteenth-century workers! The dedica-

[1] Bryce on Green's "Short History."

[2] "If a new Bacon," slyly adds the Doctor, "were offered fifty guineas a sheet by a Quarterly for his Essays, what a much bigger book it would make!"

tions may have a soapy flavour; the paper may be yellow, the type blinding; but the three comparatively unknown men with whom we now seek further acquaintance, Rapin, Barrow, and Carte, were all—like the best men before and after them—on the strait white road that leads to the City of Truth.

We have no indication that Napoleon knew Rapin's "History"; it seems probable that he may have seen the work in France at some time. Had he been allowed to sojourn in England as a private gentleman, we may be sure that he, like Henry Hallam, would have treasured it as one of his best books. Hume he read in a translation at St. Helena, and declared that he would rather have a few hundred more books than the new house they were sending out to him from England.

The translations of the Histories of Carte and Barrow were also in circulation in France during Napoleon's youth. With Rapin and Hume, they formed the best sources of information respecting our country. My first object therefore has been to throw the true atmosphere round Napoleon's historic abstract by means of contemporary notes. It is important to realise exactly what material was available in 1788 to a historical student, and what was the best available work that could have been done with it.

After Barrow preference has been given to Rapin, then to Carte. Hume has next been read, but used less freely, and only when he seems to make some point clearer. In a similar way Hallam and Macaulay have been treated. After the contemporary writers, however, much more attention has been given to Ranke, Green, Freeman, and Stubbs. I have tried to make each important reign complete enough to be read alongside any English history, with a probability that new points of interest may be found by the reader. Hence the diverse character of the Notes. I am somewhat in the position of the angler in *Punch*, who threw his fly-book into the river and asked the fish to choose for themselves. In streams or ponds, big fish and little fish

have all their favourite food-supply. My aim has been to find attractive material by digging over the soil and sand in forgotten corners, and it may be that even some of the three-pounders—those fish that will not look at a fly out of their own historic period—may find some portly palmer or contumacious "creeper" to remind them of happy gloamings long ago and of dainty morsels long untasted.

It is also my hope that, however slightly, this volume may help to a juster appreciation of Napoleon.

I wish here to tender my best thanks to Monsieur Frédéric Masson and to Dr. Biagi for their cordial permission to use the text of Napoleon's Note-Books on English History in their work *Napoléon Inconnu*, and for their sympathy and assistance in points of difficulty. I wish also to express my gratitude to W. P. Turnbull, Esq., M.A., H.M.D.I., for advice and correction, especially in the translation of the Text. To the Rev. T. A. Seed I have been indebted, both in this book and in my "Napoleon's Letters to Josephine," for reading the work in proof, whereby many minor errors have been adjusted.

If my Notes give half as much pleasure and information to my readers as they have done to myself in searching for them, one of the main objects of the book will be attained. It may be that my sins of omission will share the fate of that Saxon battle of which the result has not come down to us. This unremunerative fact is conscientiously recorded by Carte, and Carlyle cheerfully notes in the margin—"So much the better!"

John Barrow

John Barrow is the literary Melchisedeck of the eighteenth century—"without father, without mother, without genealogy, having neither beginning of days nor end of life." He "flourished in 1756" is the curt comment of the "Dictionary of National

Biography." As a matter of fact, this was a year when, in spite of previous successful work, he published the first edition of his Collection of Voyages anonymously. In 1765 this was republished on a larger scale in his own name, as a "Collection of Authentic, Useful, and Entertaining Voyages" in twelve volumes, and contains the travels and discoveries of Columbus, Cortes, Soto, Gama, Raleigh, Drake, Dampier, Anson, &c. The French translation by Targe (1766) had a great vogue, until the larger work of the Abbé Prévost superseded it.

In 1767 Barrow's voyages were translated into German. He had published his first work, *Navigatio Britannia*, in 1750, when it was highly praised by the London *Monthly Review*. A year or two later he compiled the "New and Universal Dictionary of Arts and Sciences," in one volume folio. In 1754 a further volume was added. This work was the first important rival to Chambers's "Cyclopædia"; its speciality consists in the prominence given to mechanical arts and to naval affairs, and in the general excellence of the articles on those subjects. The work passed away into obscurity on the publication of the "Encyclopædia Britannica," 1771.

In 1763 appeared "A New and Impartial History of England, from the Invasion of Julius Cæsar to the Signing of Preliminaries of Peace, 1762," published by J. Coote in ten volumes. The work stops at 1688, and apparently the only copy in existence is at the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. The French edition, published in 1772 (the one used by Napoleon), is not so rare, and I have succeeded in obtaining a copy, and from it translations are made.

All Barrow's books seem to have been good work, if we pass by Mr. Macvey Napier's criticism in his Introduction to the Supplement of the Fourth Edition of the "Encyclopædia Britannica," where he accuses Barrow of unacknowledged quotations from D'Alembert. The "Dictionary of National Biography," apparently following the account of Barrow in the

"Biographie Universelle" (1834), says vaguely, "Barrow died at end of the eighteenth century." Probably there is no other man of letters who turned out twenty-five volumes of serious work, whose life-history otherwise is so completely a blank.

Paul de Rapin-Thoyras

From the Alpine glen of Valloires, the cradle of their race, the clan Rapin made itself respected and feared in the annals of Savoy as far back as the thirteenth century. After Francis I. had conquered their country, four of the family sought a wider field for their exploits. Three of them were already adherents to the Reformed faith, the fourth son became almoner to Catherine de Medicis. Antoine and Pierre fought under Coligny; the former had joined the French army in 1536, and had now become a Colonel of Foot. After fighting under four kings, he died about 1570. His brother Pierre, a Captain of Horse, probably preceded him; neither had children.

Philibert, the third brother, became chief steward in Condé's household. He was sent by that prince to announce the newly-signed peace to the people of Languedoc. On his way he spent a night at his country-house near Grenade on the Garonne. The Parlement of Toulouse, hearing of his whereabouts, had him seized in spite of a safe-conduct, furbished up an old charge against him, and forthwith cut off his head. Two years later, when the Huguenots burnt the houses of the Councillors of Toulouse, the soldiers wrote with glowing coals on their whitened walls, "The vengeance of Rapin"!

Pierre de Rapin, Seigneur and Baron of Mauvers, son of the murdered Philibert, was a warrior from his boyhood. He fought under Anjou in "la folie d'Anvers," 1583. He was beloved by Henry of Navarre, one of whose equerries he was. Wanting a

little money to buy a new horse, he was told by his prince, "I would gladly give it you, but see—three shirts are all my belongings!" Thrice in successive years was Pierre's home burnt down by the Leaguers and his lands devastated; yet he was so esteemed by his Catholic neighbours that they gave their own labour to repair his loss. Through the waning fortunes of the Huguenots, Pierre de Rapin lived long—a kind, genial old man, ready to give a cask of his best wine of Mauvers to any visitor who praised it. He survived a harsh imprisonment when over seventy, and died in 1647, in his ninetieth year, having lost his sight some nine years earlier. Of his first marriage with Olympe Sabagnes, no child survived. By his second wife, Perside de Lupé, he had twenty-two children. The family of Lupé was one of the best in Guienne, and traced its line to the Merovingian kings. Their eldest child, Jean, was born in 1602, and lived the hard strenuous life of a Protestant gentleman of France—"cette vieille phalange Huguenote gens, de père en fils, apprivoisés a la mort." The second son, Jacques, born in 1603, inherited the patrimony of a few cottages, adjoining the main estate, which constituted the seigneurie of Thoyras. In 1654 he married Jeanne de Pélisson—a daughter of one of those great families of English origin that are the best world-heritage of the Hundred Years' War.

Our historian, "Paul de Rapin, écuyer, Seigneur de Thoyras," was one of their younger children. He was born at Castres in Languedoc, March 25, 1651. The tributary streams of Merovingian and Norman blood seem to have stirred up in the latest of the Rapins a revival of bellicosity—of those wild mountain moss-trooper instincts, the dread of which had made the thirteenth-century bishops of Maurienne leave carved in stone on their palace walls the warning, "Caveant successores nostri a familia Rapinorum."

Most of Paul's boyhood seems to have been spent in fights and duels—though he had the honour to be educated first at

Puylaurens (the school which Bayle had just left) and afterwards at Saumur. His parents forbade a military career, as his father's position as advocate at the Huguenot court of Castres seemed well assured. In their own Alpine home, the Rapins, like the Bonapartes in Corsica, had belonged for generations to the *noblesse de la robe*, and so young Thoyras, like Montaigne and Scott, was compelled to waste the best years of his youth in becoming fit to wear a barrister's gown. The very year he was accepted Advocate (1679) however, there was passed a cruel act which abolished the "Courts of the Edict," including that of Castres, and forced his father in his old age to begin practice at Toulouse. There Paul spent six miserable years, studying fortification and music for hobbies, and Latin and Law to please his father. The latter died in 1685, and a few months later the Edict of Nantes was revoked.

The future historian now said farewell to his mother and to France, and took with him to London his younger brother (March 16, 1686). London under James II., however, was practically impossible for a French refugee, who was master of neither trade nor profession, and he soon made his way to Holland, where he had a cousin in command of a volunteer corps of French *émigrés* which William of Orange had just formed. Under William, Paul once more entered England, and a few months later took his place in the fighting line in Ireland, first as an ensign in Lord Kingston's regiment, but soon gaining his commission from Lieutenant-Colonel Fielding. He fought at Carrickfergus and the Boyne, and was seriously wounded at the siege of Limerick, where his younger brother, Solomon, was also struck down at his side. For three years Rapin was in Ireland, mainly in garrison, till sent for by the King to educate the son of the Earl of Portland. Henry Bentinck, Lord Woodstock, was a delicate lad, some twelve years of age. His father was not only William's favourite minister, but one of the chief Whig statesmen, and

at his house Rapin doubtless heard the best talk in London—perhaps that of young Addison himself, who also, in a humbler sphere, was about to make the grand tour. During the eleven years that followed, in Holland, Germany, France, Spain, and Italy, Rapin was welcomed in each city by its best society. At Paris, during his patron's embassy, he met the exiled James II., seeking to obtain favours through Rapin and his charge.

Everywhere were exceptional opportunities for following up historical and archæological research. In the Tyrol they saw Marshal Villeroi, then a prisoner. Between 1693 and 1704, Rapin picked up among other acquisitions a fair library, a fine collection of medals and manuscripts, five new languages, and a wife. He married Marie-Anne Testart, in 1699, at The Hague. She also was a French refugee from St. Quentin, with a moderate fortune. Rapin had nothing but the £100 a year granted him by William III., and felt it necessary to continue his travels with young Bentinck, leaving his wife behind.

In 1704 Bentinck married, and Rapin settled down with his wife at The Hague. As their family grew, this place became too expensive for them, and in 1707 they decided to live at Wesel on the Rhine. After fourteen years in which literature and history, science and art, had been the chief themes of conversation, he found himself in a garrison town—once more in the atmosphere of camps, whose talk is of battles. The Field-Marshal of the Cleves district, the Count von Lottum, visited him; and on a future occasion some years later, their conversation turned on the great political parties of England, concerning which Rapin's knowledge proved so various and profound that he was induced to write an essay on the subject, which was the first milestone in the history that was to occupy the seventeen years before his death. This *Dissertation sur le Gouvernement d'Angleterre* was published at The Hague in 1717, and within a few years was translated into English, Dutch, Danish, and German. His French was said to be the "refugee style," but

this fact did not detract from the number of his readers, any more than Guienne barbarisms from that of another book *de bonne foi* that had delighted Europe and scandalised the Sorbonne some four generations earlier.

At the outset Rapin said that his "History" was written for Continental consumption; that the English were quite capable of producing their own historians. His work would probably have stopped at the end of Henry II., but at this time the first volume of the "Fœdera" of Thomas Rymer, the Yorkshireman, came into his hands. The magnificent archives of the Tower of London, through the munificence of Lords Halifax and Somers, were at last yielding up their treasures—sources absolutely necessary for an English History, and hitherto unavailable. Leclerc, the learned bibliophile, also a refugee, and possibly an old schoolfellow at Saumur, sent Rapin the volumes of the "Fœdera" as they reached him, with permission to keep them as long as he liked. During Rapin's lifetime only the first eight volumes of the History appeared, which brought it down to the death of Charles I. These appeared in 1724, and the last two followed in 1727, which continued the History to his own time, *i.e.* to the accession of William and Mary.

For years he had been failing, and at the end, as with Green and the Venerable Bede, it became a race with death if the work was to be finished. Every morning at six he began his task; every noon made it a misery by pain. He died in May 1725, leaving one son and six daughters besides his wife, who survived him twenty-four years.

The verdict of posterity has confirmed the common-sense and sober sincerity of Rapin's "History." Voltaire speaks of the "exact and judicious Rapin-Thoyras"; Hallam makes free and trustful use of him. Dr. Firth declares that the "History" shows extensive research throughout, "combined with a strenuous endeavour to be impartial and to arrive at the truth."

Pious kinsfolk have written volumes to his memory, but have sought in vain at Wesel for his white memorial-stone. Trace of his tomb there is none, but on the shelves of the world's best libraries stand, as they have stood for nigh two centuries, the ten monuments which will outlast granite or marble.

Thomas Carte

Samuel Carte, the father, was prebendary of Lichfield, and lived to be eighty-seven. Like his son and grandson, he had strong antiquarian predilections. He was absolutely devoted to the tenets of the Church of England, and seems to have been loved and venerated in his various cures, especially at Leicester and Eastwell. Thomas was born at Clifton-upon-Dunsmore, Warwickshire, in 1686. He was a precocious lad. At the age of twelve he was at Oxford, at sixteen he had taken his B.A. degree; thence he went on to Cambridge, taking his Master's degree in 1706. In 1712 he seems to have had similar advantages to Rapin ten years earlier, for he made the tour of Europe, as tutor to the son of a nobleman—probably a Jacobite. Henceforward, his sympathies with the fallen family got him into constant trouble. As lay reader at the Abbey Church at Bath he got into disgrace in 1714, by a sermon in which he vindicated the conduct of Charles I. in Ireland in 1641. He refused to take the oaths to King George, and, in fact, gloried in indiscretions. Scarcely was the new king on the throne, when, caught in a storm in London streets and asked to take a coach, Carte answered meaningly, "that this was not a rain (reign) in which one could afford a coach." It was, as we shall see, such equivocal utterances that were to blight the fortunes of his literary works. He was searched for by the king's troops in 1715, and seems to have been implicated with Bishop Atterbury. In 1722 he was accused of high-treason, and a thousand pounds offered for his

apprehension. He fled to France, where, under the name of Philips, he toiled at collecting materials to illustrate the colossal "History" of De Thou. It seemed safer however for the success of the work that his name should not be alone connected with it. He therefore transferred his materials to Dr. Mead for an adequate remuneration, and in 1733 the work duly appeared under the editorship of S. Buckley, in seven vols. folio. Meanwhile, Queen Caroline, always the friend of literature in distress, had obtained a pardon for Carte, who returned home about 1730. His best-known work, the "Life of James, Duke of Ormonde," appeared in 1735. In the opinion of Dr. Johnson (who in his youth had probably often heard old Samuel Carte preach) the work is too verbose, lacks animation and compression, and would have been improved by boiling down the two folios into two duodecimos. Dean Swift, however, admired it, and it is still among the accepted books of reference of the Stuart period.

In 1736 Carte made preparations for a History of England. Tactless as ever, he began by maligning the main competitive history, that of Rapin, whose book held the field. Differing also from the verdict of posterity in general, and that of the "Dictionary of National Biography" in particular, he persisted in calling Rapin a foreigner, and when his own book came out the title-page proclaimed it to be "by Thomas Carte, *an Englishman*." No English historian had ever received such noble support as was now offered to him, chiefly by the London City Council and some six of the great Livery Companies. Something like £600 a year for seven years would have been assured to him, if in the very first volume, published in 1747, he had not dragged in by the heels a cock-and-bull story to show that the Pretender could touch efficaciously for the King's Evil. Most of the larger subscriptions were withdrawn, and the rest of the "History" came out neglected and unread.

Carte died in 1754, a broken-hearted man, and his splendid collection of notes and MSS. (twenty folios, fifteen quartos, &c.)

found their way eventually into the Bodleian—£200 and £300 having been in the meanwhile paid by the Earl of Hardwicke and Mr. M'Pherson for the perusal of them. They have been largely used by later historians, often without acknowledgment. Hume used Carte's History extensively, and gave him little thanks.[1] Warton, however, opines that we go to Hume for eloquence, but to Carte for facts.

A small, mean-looking man, Carte was a prodigious and a cheerful worker, and, like Rapin, could tire out any ordinary mortal at a day's literary labour. He was a strenuous pleader for more public libraries in England.

[1] Not the least charm of the copy of Carte's History in the London Library is that it was Carlyle's copy, with his characteristic notes in the margins.

"*The best anecdote I have seen of Napoleon. The Emperor of Austria, in reply to some remonstrance against the marriage, said he should not have consented to it had he not known that Bonaparte's origin was as noble as his own. A collection of documents, therefore, was presented to Bonaparte, proving that his ancestors had been Dukes of Treviso. He threw them into the fire, saying, 'Je veux que ma noblesse ne date que de moi, et ne tenir mes titres que du peuple français.'*"—SOUTHEY, "Commonplace Book," vol. iii.

NAPOLEON'S NOTES ON ENGLISH HISTORY

PART I

NAPOLEON'S NOTE-BOOKS

THREE-QUARTERS of a century ago two of the great writers of the nineteenth century girded themselves to pen the life of their greatest contemporary—the Emperor Napoleon I. Sir Walter Scott, who, after thirteen years' silence, had been compelled by financial stress to cast off his cloak of darkness visible, and to avow the authorship of the Waverley novels, worked as he had never worked before, for he was toiling for faith and freedom; for the maintenance of political faith by trying to convince himself and his readers that a Tory dispensation was perfect, and that even the Bourbons were a blessing; and for the financial freedom which the £18,000 promised by Messrs. Longmans would materially facilitate. The task of refuting the nine volumes of the author of Waverley fell to William Hazlitt, the John Ruskin of his day, who brought to bear the ardent artistic temperament of an advanced Liberal, together with perhaps the most perfect prose style in the whole realm of English literature. The failure of his publishers robbed Hazlitt of the monetary reward which, even in literature, sweetens labour. He was to have received £500 for the four volumes, which took him four

years, and all he got was a bill for £140, which came back dishonoured. Both books are to-day considered failures, yet in compiling them Scott and Hazlitt shattered their health and shortened their lives. To-day their histories figure in nobody's Best Books, and would most certainly be ignored by the University coterie which Dr. Reich wished to be employed to guide Mr. Carnegie in his library lists.

Yet, in the opinion of Goethe, himself the most versatile genius since Bacon, Scott's "Life of Napoleon" was a great work, and the criticism that "such books show you more of the writer than of the subject" is of special interest in considering the value of Napoleon's commonplace books. What such a contemporary as Scott thought of Napoleon and of the French Revolution must always have a value. For Scott, although a romancer by profession, had monumental common-sense and was, as far as a poet can be, the soul of historic truth.

It is not surprising to find that an omnivorous reader like Napoleon should have spent youthful leisure in reading the translation of a history of England, but for us to know what portions of that history *he* considered noteworthy to copy out is a valuable indication of a great life in the making. Hitherto the life had been strenuous but hardly eventful. He found himself in France "a stranger by birth, and a scholar by charity,"[1] and when a man has to build the foundations of his own fortunes there is a lot of unseen work necessary before the more showy architecture rises into view. "The truest wisdom is a resolute determination," was his favourite motto, and in all Smiles's list of heroes there is no example of self-help comparable to Napoleon. It has been well pointed out by a valuable but almost forgotten biographer—Mr. Henry Lee—that from his first hour Napoleon had to fend for himself, and that when his mother, returning from church, found no one at home and fell down in a swoon she was awakened by the screams of a new arrival on the carpet, who had

[1] Phillips.

certainly not been in the house ten minutes earlier. This Napoleon naturally looks upon as the first epoch of his life. The second was his departure for France in his tenth year in 1778, followed by his arrival at Autun the month following, and at Brienne five months later. Here he remained till October, 1784, when he entered the Military School at Paris. A year later he becomes Second-Lieutenant in the Regiment of La Fère, visits Corsica in 1786, and again in 1788, by special leave of absence, and rejoins his regiment at Auxonne on June 1st of that year. The pretty little walled town of Auxonne, near Dijon, is so called because situated on the Saone—Ad Sonam being its old Roman name. It has still the school of artillery, and holds the almost unique honour of being besieged in vain by the Prussians in 1871. Chuquet has given interesting details of Napoleon's poverty at this time. He lodged close to the barracks. One small chamber with but one window was his bedroom, study, and living room, with a bed, a table, a sofa, a wooden chair, and six rush-bottomed chairs for his furniture.[1] His father had died three years before, his mother and brothers were without friends, while he was literally starving himself not to add to the family troubles, and if possible to mitigate them. All his life he was susceptible to damp, and the marshy, humid climate of Auxonne gave him a malarial fever, which, with the need of saving money to buy books, caused him to eat but one meal daily, and even that milk diet. To economise candles he went to bed at ten and rose at four, when he would often walk to Dôle to read over proofs with his publisher, M. Joly, returning to garrison before noon after his twenty mile walk. Arthur Young describes *his* walk from Dôle to Auxonne at this very time (July 30, 1789). He says: "The country to Auxonne is cheerful. Cross the Saone at Auxonne; it is a fine river, through a region of flat

[1] Hazlitt says the bed was without curtains, that there were only two chairs, the table littered with books and papers, and that his brother Louis slept on a coarse mattress in the next room. ("Life of Napoleon," vol. i. xx.)

meadow of beautiful verdure ; commons of great herds of cattle ; vastly flooded, and the haycocks under water." ("Travels in France," pp. 218, 1889 ed.) Jeered at as the pauper child of a conquered race, these early years in France were probably the most unhappy ones of Napoleon's life—for even at St. Helena his future greatness was assured, and, to use one of his own picturesque phrases, his calumniators were "biting on granite." To help his mother and brothers he worked hard at his "History of Corsica," only to find that loss and disappointment awaited his literary aspirations. The sole publisher who entertained his work would only take it on half-risks, and required cash in advance as security. Later, Napoleon's patron, the Archbishop of Sens, was disgraced, and the publication of the book again deferred. Still, the time at Auxonne was well spent, for he had here exceptional facilities for reading, and we owe chiefly to Monsieur Frédéric Masson the fact that his MS. Note-Books of that period are now available to the general reader.

Let us, for a moment, look into the history and discovery of these MSS. After Waterloo, Napoleon filled a cardboard-box, which had contained letters to the First Consul, with his early Note-Books, fastened it with string, and sealed it, addressed to his uncle Cardinal Fesch—"to him alone." It was not opened by the Cardinal, on whose death in 1839 it came from Rome to Lyons—to his future biographer, the Abbé Lyonnet, who sold it for 8000 francs to Libri-Carucci (the great French librarian and book-thief), who said that by distributing this money to the poor, the Abbé would pave the way for a bishopric. Libri, who published selections from these MSS. in the *Revue des deux Mondes* in 1842, sold the whole collection to Lord Ashburnham, in whose library the contents remained until 1883, when the whole collection was privately offered. Already in 1881 Monsieur Masson had obtained the temporary transfer of the MSS. to the British Museum, where he made his first study of them. These notes were published in the *Gaulois* in 1883, as "Napoléon Inconnu."

From that day Frédéric Masson has by sheer merit won himself the reputation of the greatest living Napoleonic student, and his accuracy, his right judgment, his unfailing industry, have now received the greatest reward which literature offers, a seat under the sacred cupola of the French Academy. It is because he commenced *ab ovo*, from "*l'éclosion intellectuelle de Napoléon*," as he himself calls it, that Monsieur Masson has passed by all his competitors in full comprehension of his hero.

In spite of the efforts of Prince Napoleon, the Bibliothèque Nationale, with somewhat Quixotic rectitude, refused to entertain the purchase of any portion of a library, part of which had been stolen by Libri from its own shelves; Italy was more complaisant, and secured for £23,000 eighteen hundred MSS., including the commonplace Books of Napoleon. They now lie in the splendid Lorenzo Medici Library at Florence, the birthplace of Libri himself, from whence came also the ancestors of Napoleon. The Notes cover a wide range, and were nearly all made during the last months of 1788—on the very eve of the Revolution. Plato and Xenophon, Ariosto and Machiavel, Rousseau and Voltaire, Rollin and Buffon, Necker and Mirabeau, the East India Company's Dividends, and the Abbé Raynal's "History of the West Indies," Frederick the Great, and Hannibal —such are a few of his subjects, and we must never forget that he was all this time learning a foreign language, nor be surprised to find him keeping a separate sheet for hard words, such as hippogriff, Cortes, goitre, ambergris, paleography. He defines bibliography as the art of knowing books, their edition and impression, and adds "It is the science of the bookseller."

We have now to consider his notes to Barrow's "History of England, from the times of Julius Cæsar to the Peace of 1762," published in London in ten volumes, 1763–4, of which the French translation, as used by Napoleon, appeared in Paris, 1771–3. The English edition was published by Coote, a publisher in Paternoster Row. His son, Charles Coote (1761–1835),

published some thirty years later a "History of England in nine volumes, from the earliest Dawn of Record to the Peace of 1783." I have been unable to compare Coote with Barrow as the latter is not in the British Museum, either in the original or in the translation, nor can I find them in the other leading library catalogues. Both are in the Bibliothèque Nationale. I have, however, secured in Paris the French translation, which, on its own merits, seems to well deserve rescue from oblivion, but which will be here alluded to only as it figures in the Note-Books.

The first sentence of Napoleon's Note-Book is very suggestive. "It is probable that the British Isles were peopled by Gallic colonies." We are so accustomed to look upon Napoleon as the incarnation of the French Revolution, that we hardly realise the fierce hatred he had towards France for the first twenty years of his life. His "History of Corsica" was the work of a patriot rather than of a historian, and when the Archbishop of Sens is disgraced at this time, Napoleon asks Paoli, then in London, to become his patron. His letter commences, "I was born when my country was perishing. Thirty thousand Frenchmen vomited on our shores, drowning the throne of Liberty in waves of blood, such was the odious spectacle which met my opening eyes."[1] Napoleon could hardly forgive his father's easy acquiescence in the new *régime* in Corsica. His two long absences from his regiment (1786 and 1788), on the plea of ill-health, were spent at Corsica in fomenting the general discontent, with the wish, if not for separation from France, at least for a modified Home Rule. France, like the Saxons in Kent, had made a false use of an invitation to help

[1] This letter is dated June 12, 1789, and might a few months earlier have cost him a residence in the Bastille. It concludes, "Whatever may be the success of my work, I am sensible that it will raise against me the whole host of French employés, who misgovern our island, and against whom my attack is directed. But what imports their enmity, when the interest of our country is at stake!"

Corsica, and England alone had held out hopes of help. England, at this time, was the land of liberty to Napoleon. A few months earlier he had written an imaginary correspondence between Sir Robert Walpole and Theodore I., the hapless ex-King of Corsica, who in 1753 had been seven years for debt in a London prison. The Westphalian adventurer begs for aid, and Walpole is depicted as replying, "Poor wretch, groaning in our prisons, you suffer and are unfortunate. These are indeed two excellent reasons for an Englishman's pity. Receive, therefore, £120 per annum for your maintenance and quit your prison." The words were Napoleon's, but the facts were as he gives them. Theodore lived but two years to enjoy his annuity. Masson thinks that the early admiration of England, still more conspicuous in another sketch by Napoleon (of the Robinson Crusoe variety), recurred in 1815, and biassed his surrender in favour of England. This, however, by the way. At the time of writing these notes, it must have been a solace to see that from earliest times a greater isle than Corsica had owed something to Gaul, but he does not make the common Continental mistake of looking upon the Norman Conquest a dozen centuries later as a victory for France.

In his second paragraph he notes that the British commerce with the Phœnicians consisted in tin, "which these skilful seamen resold to the Greeks." The Phœnician relationship was another early bond between Corsica and England, as in his Letters on Corsica he speaks of their landing there about 600 B.C.

One must never forget that Napoleon owed his grit, mental and physical, to the salt savour of the sea. If one turns to a Child's History of England by our greatest Victorian novelist, we find as a keynote to the first chapter that the inhabitants of Britain are Islanders—with a capital I. All that is best in Corsican, Frenchman or Englishman, comes from their ancestors, the Sea-rovers. Vikings and Corsairs alike were good brothers

and ideal friends. One beautiful trait of the Corsican people specially exemplified in its great archetype Napoleon, was gratitude—as Paoli said, "What lasts longest in Corsica is the memory of benefits." They never betrayed or misused a friend. On the other hand, they were naturally suspicious, often distrustful, and always self-centred. They were frugal and abstemious—even as Emperor, Napoleon's usual dinner-hour was fifteen minutes. He had contracted the bad habit of eating quickly from his mother, who made it a rule always to get up from her meal with an appetite. He drank very little wine, and then usually Chambertin mixed with water, but on one occasion boasted of drinking four bottles at a sitting without getting heated. Corsicans considered women of secondary importance, and Napoleon's brusque manners were merely native "insularity." At St. Helena the Emperor told Montholon how proud Corsicans were of being, in point of time, the twelfth Monarchy of Europe, and how, when a King was no longer possible for them, they made the Virgin Mary their Queen. When in 1794 George III. became King of Corsica, Napoleon opined that the Corsican crown must feel strange side by side with that of Fingal, the hero of Ossian—Fingal being the traditional Irish King.

Goethe thought that Napoleon loved Ossian because of the contrast with his own nature. "He loved soft and melancholy music." This is true, as it was also true that the Tuscan translation which he read was better verse than the original. It was the sound of the winds and waves, the gloomy grandeurs of mountain and headland that unconsciously appealed to the future Emperor, then and always the "sceptred hermit, wrapped in the solitude of his own originality."

A page or two further on we come to a laborious list of all the kings of the Saxon Heptarchy, with a chronological diary of events. This is an original abstract, and not in his author's work.

Captain Mahan[1] and others never tire of showing how Napoleon's ignorance of seacraft was his ruin. From one end of his life to the other such ignorance, if ignorance there was, was not for want of careful and constant investigation of everything connected with the sea. Just as George Washington nearly became a British seaman, Napoleon nearly joined the French Navy, for which one of his masters thought him singularly well fitted.

His first notice of the Danes is that their boats held 500 men, and could be used alike with oars and sails—perhaps a hint utilised in his own flotilla. Of Alfred the Great we find the note that "he created a navy which kept down the Danes and protected the country from their incursions." "The English regard him as the restorer of their monarchy and the founder of their liberty." The tide of King Alfred's popularity has not ceased to flow, and a hundred years later he is described by Goldwin Smith as "the model man of the English race."

Napoleon's digest of the acts of Edward the Confessor is somewhat different from what we are accustomed to think of this sanctified monarch. The recorded virtues indicate that he cured scrofula and left his wife a maiden, but that his cruelty to his mother was incredible, and that he was indolent, feeble, and irresolute.

It has been said that Kingsley rediscovered Hereward. This may be so, but he had aroused enthusiasm in Napoleon some seventy years earlier. "The dauntless Hereward *de* Wake had fortified himself in the Isle of Ely," had braved William's fortune, but was betrayed by the monks. "Thus, in order to regain their worldly possessions the monks betrayed the remnant of the

[1] Just a century before the appearance of the "Influence of Sea Power upon History," Napoleon in his unpublished Letters on Corsica had struck the same note—"*the sea, which for all other nations was the first source of wealth and power: the sea, which exalted Tyre, Carthage, Athens, which now sustains England, Holland, and France at the utmost pinnacle of splendour and power*, was the source of the misfortune and misery of my native land."

English patriots. This isle of Ely, in Cambridgeshire, served often as a refuge for patriots."

Napoleon seems to take pleasure in recounting the weaknesses of the clergy, and tells with some gusto how the Papal legate Crema, having duly exhorted an Ecclesiastical Council in London on the evils of clerical marriage, was surprised the following night in the arms of a Delilah. Later, the Archbishop of Canterbury is held up to ridicule for excommunicating two gentlemen who cut off the tails of his horses.

The reign of Richard Cœur de Lion is worth pausing over, not only for what is noted, but for what is omitted. Of the former, we have the murder of the Jews at York, told in the usual bald matter-of-fact way of all the historians of the period—it is only a modern historian who adds vigour and life to the narrative by comparing the Semitic valour in defence of York Castle to that displayed at the sieges of Jerusalem, Tyre, and Carthage. No mention of Saladin and the Duke of Austria is made in the Notes, but, thanks to his biographers, we know that he remembered the Blondel story. Twenty years later, during the Wagram campaign, Richard's prison, the ruins of Dirnstein Castle near Saint Polten, was pointed out, as the Emperor rode between his marshals, Lannes and Berthier. Now, both these generals had shared not only his Egyptian, but also his Syrian campaign, which adds point to what Pelet reports of the monologue which ensued. Turning to them, Napoleon said:—

"He also had been to fight in Palestine. He had been more fortunate than we were at Acre, but not braver than you, my good Lannes. He had defeated the great Saladin. And in spite of that hardly had he returned to the shores of Europe than he fell into the hands of people who were certainly not his equals. He was sold by an Austrian Duke to an Emperor of Germany, who imprisoned him and who is only remembered by this act of felony. . . . The last of all his court, Blondel alone, remained

faithful to him, but his people made great sacrifices for his deliverance. . . ."

Napoleon seemed unable to turn his eyes away from these towers. He added: "Such, indeed, were those barbaric times, which people are foolish enough to depict as so grand, when the father sacrificed his children, the wife her husband, the subject his sovereign, the soldier his general; when everything was done without shame, and even without disguise, for the lust of gold or power. . . . How times have changed since then! What progress our civilisation has made! You have seen emperors and kings in my power, besides their capitals and their States, and I have exacted from them neither ransom nor any sacrifice of honour. And this successor of Leopold and of Henry, who is already more than half in my power, no more harm will be done to him than last time, in spite of his somewhat treacherous attack. . ." "Abandoning himself gradually to profound reflections, the Emperor fell into a sad melancholy, to which we all remained foreign; for who could follow the master of Europe, the giver of crowns, in his mighty thoughts? What things must have risen before his eyes. He alone knew the fury of his enemies, and all that they would dare, if ever they had the power over him which he so often might have used against them. Who could foresee, at that time, that this new Cœur de Lion would have to envy the fate of him of the eleventh century?"

At the close of Richard's reign Napoleon gives a story concerning the Bishop of Beauvais, which Goldwin Smith gives in a more telling variant, respecting Archbishop Scrope. Captured in arms against his King and executed as a rebel, the prelate's cuirass was sent by our King to the Pope, with the scornful question: "Is this thy son's coat or no?" to which the Pope retorted: "It *is* my son's coat. Without doubt some evil beast hath devoured him."

In John's reign the follower of Paoli and of Rousseau

naturally notes at length the Great Charter, "foundation of English liberty." One of its provisions which he considers worthy of copying out is that whereby widows were not to be forced to re-marry without their own consent.

Still more significant is his marginal note on the death of Simon de Montfort: "Thus perishes one of the greatest Englishmen, and with him the hope his nation had of seeing the royal authority diminished."

Napoleon notes 1294 as the year from which dates the superiority of English Naval Power. English writers usually date it from Sluys, forty-six years later, although some go back to the reign of Richard I. Interesting items anent the Navy are seldom omitted from the Notes: for example, in the reign of Edward III. alone, we have (1) 1340, Edward in person won the sea-fight of Blankenberg (*i.e.* Sluys), in which 20,000 French and two admirals were slain, and 230 of their vessels taken. (2) 1350, Naval combat of Winchelsea, where Edward in person, with forty-three ships, defeated forty-four Spanish vessels and took twenty-four of them. (3) 1371, a Flemish fleet beaten by the English.

In chronicling the battle of Crecy, it is stated that 26,000 English utterly rout 100,000 Frenchmen. In the flight from Waterloo an officious courtier asked the Emperor if the defeat had not surprised him. "It has always been the same since Crecy," gloomily replied Napoleon. The episode of Wat Tyler contains interesting details usually omitted from school histories. In noting that the Bishop of Norwich disperses the rebels he adds: "In every battle the Bishops bear a great part; the Bishop of Durham, the Archbishop of York, the Bishop of Carlisle, the Bishop of Lincoln, the Archbishop of Canterbury, commanded at the battle of Neville's Cross." In those days we had unmistakably a Church militant.

The *coup d'état* of Richard II. in 1397 is alluded to, with special notice of the execution of the Earl of Arundel, who,

according to the Note-Book, was *hung*. It adds, "The King chose to be present at this terrible scene. The Earl died a martyr for the liberty of his country."

The fact that Napoleon is no Frenchman at heart at this time is proved by the fact that, while noting Talbot as a famous captain, giving the dates of the Battle of Verneuil and of the Siege of Orleans, he ignores all mention of Joan of Arc. As First Consul he encouraged the erection of statues to her memory, as a stimulating preliminary to the invasion of England !

It is rather strange nowadays to read that England was looked upon as the land which had suffered most revolutions. Henry VII.'s first regal act is said to have been the promotion of fifty archers to be Yeomen of the Guard. (The absence of this knowledge, by the way, filled columns of newspaper correspondence when Gilbert and Sullivan's opera came out.) Napoleon notes the fact, often forgotten, that Henry VIII. was to have been Archbishop of Canterbury had his elder brother, Arthur, lived—this was the reason why Henry was so well versed in theology and in the philosophy of Aristotle. Respecting the execution of Mary Stuart, we find that the pretext was the Babington conspiracy, but that her *real* crime was her Catholicism. This is the bovril of biography, but the pale daughter of debate has often fared worse —even from her avowed and voluminous partisans.

Her son King James plumed himself on his authorship, especially on his book about wizards, and on his Commentary to prove the Pope Anti-Christ. A long paragraph is given to show how Parliament, depleted by the Wars of the Roses, cowed by the Tudors, was once again raising its head in presence of this prince, whose puerile pretensions and chronic impecuniosity had made monarchy ridiculous.

London is stated at this time to have only two hundred thousand inhabitants ; in his notes to Mirabeau's "Lettres de Cachet," Napoleon gives the population in 1789 as 678,000 for London and 658,000 for Paris.

The notes on Charles I. and Cromwell are fuller and very lucid. While sympathising with the latter, he remarks that sometimes he utilises the army for the destruction of national government. As Cromwell and Napoleon used formerly to be paired together, let us see how the future Emperor summed up the character of the Protector. "Cromwell was in early days a libertine. Religion took possession of him, and he became a prophet. Courageous, clever, deceitful, dissimulating, his early principles of lofty republicanism yielded to the devouring flame of his ambition, and, after having tasted the sweets of power, he aspired to the pleasure of reigning alone. He had a strong constitution, and possessed manly but brusque manners. From the most austere religious functions he passed to the most frivolous amusements, and made himself ridiculous by his buffoonery. He was naturally just and temperate."

Some of this is undoubtedly typical of Napoleon, but at no time was he ridiculous, even to any valet or private secretary, if we except a few ill-natured remarks of Bourrienne, who owed Napoleon a grudge for forcing him to disgorge ill-gotten gains.

It is certainly significant to find Napoleon in 1789 recording that a military despot, like Cromwell, had once become necessary to England. "The Republic became respected, and all the European Powers sought her alliance." Of Monk it is remarked that he received the reward of his cleverness. Some dozen years later Josephine and the Bourbons wished Napoleon to play the same part, which he declined.

In the Rye House Conspiracy, Lord Russell is spoken of as the English Brutus, the Roman title which his brother Lucien used as his own a few years later, when a merchant in Marseilles. Although fond of keeping to concrete facts, with a special weakness for naval combats, to which far more space is given than to land fights, Napoleon could seldom resist the reproduction of a good story. Here is one which he thought worth while to copy out, and which now, at all events, is a familiar quotation.

When, after Sedgemoor, Captain Ayloffe was brought before the merciless James II., and the latter said, with Pontius Pilate self-importance, "Do you know that it is in my power to pardon you?" he got at once the retort, "Yes, sire, but not in your nature."

Napoleon's Note-Books on English History, like their parent volumes, come to an end with the accession of William and Mary. Barrow's History was continued up to 1762, but the French translation ceased to exist with the *fin du dixième Volume*. Curiously enough, the first nine volumes bear no indication of the writer, but in this last volume we are told that the translation from the English of John Barrow was by a society of men of letters. It seemed customary in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, except in England, for any *magnum opus* to be worked by a syndicate. It will be remembered how Dr. Johnson, with complacent superiority, adverted to this fact. Dr. Adams was incredulous whether Dr. Johnson, unaided, could effect in three years the equivalent of forty years'[1] work of the whole French Academy. "Sir, there it is. This is the proportion. Let me see; forty times forty is sixteen hundred: as three to sixteen hundred, so is the proportion of an Englishman to a Frenchman." The verdict of history has inverted this ratio of value in the persons of Napoleon and Dr. Johnson as Citizens of the World, and of French and English lexicographers in the works of Littré and Dr. Johnson.

[1] Strictly speaking, fifty-five years. It was Furetière who was expelled from the Academy after twenty years' co-operation at their Dictionary, for utilising some of their work. His dictionary, he declared, occupied him ten hours a day, gave him *forty years'* hard labour, and filled fifteen chests of MSS.

PART II

A.—BARROW: HIS HISTORY AND PREFACE

The third quarter of the eighteenth century, the period between the publication of Hume's "History" and the incubation of Gibbon's masterpiece, was in England one of those times of literary eclipse which periodically overtake nations.[1] In 1754 Hume's first volume came out and was a failure, only forty-five copies being sold in the first twelve months. Dr. Warton, in the *Adventurer* of the same year, indicates that this spirit of indifference to solid work was widespread, and he quotes the experience of Addison, who had declared, nearly fifty years earlier, that "falling short of the ancients in poetry, painting, oratory, history, architecture and all the noble arts and sciences which depend more upon genius than experience; we exceed them as much in doggerel, humour, burlesque and all the trivial arts of ridicule." The future historian of British poetry proceeds to point out that the old historians, such as Thucydides, Xenophon, and Cæsar, were men of action and of the world, whereas modern historians are recluses and consequently narrow-minded in their outlook. Neither Hume nor Barrow is quite free from this defect. Barrow, as a historian, is known only to the Bibliothèque Nationale, his book being unrecorded even by the "Dictionary of National Biography"; and yet, if the French translation is a faithful one, his history has a "verve" which barely merits oblivion to-day, and deserved a better fate in those golden

1 "The reigns of the first two Georges, which have been compared to those of the Antonines, were singularly wanting in events calculated to call forth historic genius."—J. B. Mullinger, "Introduction to English History," p. 376.

days when legendary lore was unfettered by the laws of probability, and charm of style condoned a "Natural History" by Goldsmith. After all, picturesque impossibilities have their victories—no less renowned than facts. A historian, as well as a physician, may have all knowledge, and yet fail to cure the simplest indigestion (mental or physical) from mere lack of genuine sympathy in providing congenial diet to the patient. *Dulce est desipere in loco.* All facts and no romance may make history, but not readers. "A complete historian should be endowed with the essential qualifications of a great poet."[1] The romances need not be of one type—the Father of Poetry tells of Scamander and the Sirens; the Father of History, of the Phœnix and of the feast of Proserpine. They may sing to us in breezy metaphors, as in the prose writings of Scott; in the telling but far-fetched parallels which betray the author of the "Lays of Ancient Rome"; they may blaze forth as "history by flashes of lightning" in the opening chapters of Carlyle's "French Revolution," or, in what Dr. Reich has now dubbed psychological history, may drain the life-blood of that Oxford tradesman's son who first won a great people to love the knowledge of its own heritage.

Napoleon ignores Barrow's Preface. It is the irony of fate that this author, who admits his indebtedness to the British Museum, should be probably the only historian of the eighteenth century whose work is not in its library. Barrow excuses his work on the ground that it has long been a standing reproach to Great Britain that, whilst she enjoys a world-wide celebrity in all the paths of literature, her history has been utterly neglected, as compared with that of less civilised nations. He admits that this state of things is over, that the recent victories[2] have inspired

[1] *The Guardian*, No. 25.

[2] Barrow's first volume came out in 1763, when the country was rejoicing in the glorious Peace of Paris which gave us Canada and India. Havana and Martinique were restored to Spain and France, and on the latter island was born, on the day peace was signed, the future consort of Napoleon and first Empress of the French.

writers to hand down these glorious annals to posterity, and that historians vie in joining "the strength and penetration of Tacitus to the niceties of Paterculus." Without attempting to claim superiority over these favourites of fortune, the writer thinks he may hope to make up for brilliancy by accuracy—"leaving these new Raphaels in undisputed possession of their richness of colour and luxuriance of style." To lighten the thick darkness of the far past he trusts to the MSS. of the British Museum—an abundant mine, he tells us, hitherto almost unexplored. Fidelity, which is the first ornament of history, will never be lost sight of, and his intention is "to present the spirit of English History, and not a fastidious Dictionary of facts." A century later Bishop Stubbs, himself the personification of accuracy, praised Green as a historian for this very virtue sought after by Barrow—"scarcely ever does the correction of his mistakes affect either the essence of the picture, or the force of the argument."

B.—BRITONS, ROMANS, AND ANGLO-SAXONS

Barrow's Introduction is somewhat largely used by Napoleon. The young student, however, is careful in what he commits to paper. His author's onslaught on theology and the influence of priestcraft, which devised fables the better to maintain its hold on the people, is wisely omitted, but its influence on Napoleon remained. The fact that nearly all Anglo-Saxon history comes to us through these monks can hardly be too often and too strongly emphasised. The one great exception is the British writer, Gildas,[1] whose chronicle Freeman says we should reverence next to the Bible and Homer; Gildas, who speaks of the fierce and impious Saxons—of a race hateful both to God and men!

[1] Gildas . . . who, exiling all fables, most earnestly embraceth truth."—Polydore Vergil.

Macaulay waxes eloquent on the early Church, comparing it to the Ark riding alone, amidst darkness and tempest, and above the ruins of a submerged world. History without a bias is not, as Sir Leslie Stephen well said, worth reading, but let us at least recognise the fact when, for over a thousand years after Gildas, English history lacked any counterpoise. For barely a couple of generations have we been enabled to realise that we owe most of the genius of our race to the maligned Vikings, and little except a useful but ugly vocabulary to the plodding but rather loutish German tribes. Luckily this literary cataclysm did not overwhelm Iceland, whose Sagas still exist to tell of the narrow-minded despotism and fiend-like cruelties of this Church militant, when it got the upper hand. Tortures of Roman emperors and of South Sea islanders pale before the proselytising methods of that great Church missionary, Olaf Tryggvason.

The Britons

We have already called attention to Napoleon's first note: "The British Isles were probably first peopled by Gallic colonists." Bede was the first writer to comment on this transmigration *de tractu Amoricano*, and his work is largely utilised by Barrow.

It is noticeable that the young French officer makes original comments and not mere mechanical copy from his text. His note that the Scots came from Ireland *even before the invasion of Julius Cæsar* can be inferred from his author, but is not so stated. The fact of the southern inhabitants trafficking with the Phœnicians, which is also noted on Napoleon's first sheet, does not occur in Barrow till some pages later.

A long quotation from Diodorus is curtailed in the Note-Book to the bare record that the Sicilian praises the probity and frugality of the Britons. A sentence quoted by Barrow may

have remained in Napoleon's mind on the eve of his surrender in 1815, and suggested his classical letter in the *rôle* of Themistocles to the Prince Regent. "Another virtue which rendered our ancestors illustrious was hospitality. A stranger among them was an object sacred and inviolable; he received every possible help the whole time he remained on the island."

The divisions ("Government," "Religion," &c.) and marginalia (except dates, which are Barrow's) in the Note-Book are Napoleon's own. Where his jottings might seem to indicate personal leanings he becomes more definite than his author, *e.g.* where Barrow writes, "We know not if the small states (of England) had hereditary or elective government," Napoleon curtly remarks, "We know not the details of their administration and their constitution." Barrow gives up whole pages to the weapons of the Britons and to their exports of tin. His student omits all notice of the former, and condenses that of the latter to "Their trade with the Phœnicians consisted in tin, which these *skilful* sailors resold to the Greeks." The adjective is added by Napoleon—then, as always, recognising the value of good seamen. With regard to the notes on the Druids, he has evidently read Barrow and then made notes from memory, as although better arranged than his author's, they are taken here and there and not in the order of his text. Here is his sketch of the Druids: "They adored the Supreme Being under the name of Esus or Hesus, of whom the oak was the symbol. The woods were their temples. The oak was looked upon as the abode of the Almighty. Flowers sprinkled with salt water were their only offerings to their gods, but soon afterwards worshipping all the gods of Phœnicia, they ended by even sacrificing human victims."

Of a man who at this time was steeped in secret societies it is suggestive that he does not quote one custom of the Druids taken verbatim from Cæsar by Barrow. "One maxim of their religion was to entrust nothing to writing; all their mysteries

were comprised in verses composed thereon, and which they learnt by heart. These accumulated in course of time to such an extent that they generally took twenty years to learn." Cæsar adds that one reason for this custom was to strengthen the memory, and it is from him we find that ancient Druidism, like modern Freemasonry, first crossed the Channel eastwards.[1]

Napoleon nowhere does full justice to women, where they compete with men. Barrow records that "the Druidesses shared equally in the priesthood." This is omitted by Bonaparte, who, however, gives the concluding portion of the same sentence—to which he adds the niggardly tribute that "they *assisted* the Druids in their functions."

The Romans

It seems possible that some pages of the MS. are here missing, for we jump from page xviii of the Introduction to page 52 of the First Book. As they chiefly relate the two campaigns of Cæsar in Britain, our omnivorous student may have preferred to retain intact his impressions of Barrow's authorities.

Chuquet, in *La Jeunesse de Napoléon*, shows how the unknown student at Auxonne considered Rollin superficial, and recognised the value of history at first hand. "Often he mentions Rollin's sources: Herodotus, Xenophon, Pausanias, Strabo. His extracts from Mably are taken, not from the Abbé's text, but from the footnotes and references. He does not pause over trifles, and concentrates on sifting out the essential and important from every book he reads." As he skips the quotations on Atlantis from

[1] Carte points out how Diogenes Lærtius shows that even the polished Greeks borrowed their most valued lore from barbarians like the Druids (vol. i. p. 61).

Diodorus and Plato in his notes on Raynal's "West Indies," and as we learn that he was well read in Plato (much to the annoyance of Madame de Rémusat), it is fair to suppose that he skips Cæsar in Barrow in order to get on to things he does not know.

Barrow notes that Cæsar[1] was always master of himself—most so in times of greatest danger. The flat boats, used by Suetonius to invade Anglesey, are also alluded to. Napoleon participated alike in the great attribute of Cæsar, and in Suetonius' recognition of sea-power, but the Menai Straits were much easier to cross in flat boats than the Pas de Calais.

Barrow, following with equal impartiality the sober narrative of Tacitus and the more credulous one of Dio Cassius, takes nearly ten pages to describe the battles of Boadicea. Napoleon dismisses the subject in seven lines: "When Boadicea claimed the inheritance of her husband Prasutagus,[2] Catus Decianus, the Roman Prætor, had her publicly whipped, and the princesses, her daughters, delivered over to his soldiery. In her fury she made the Romans pay dearly for these indignities. It is reckoned that in the sack of London (or St. Albans[3]) alone, eighty thousand were massacred." At last "that deceitful lioness," as Gildas calls her, was defeated in battle and poisoned herself. Napoleon passes over the next sixty pages with the curt sentence "The Romans left the island in 446." Yet the sixty pages of Barrow contain facts and phrases which many a commonplace book would have inscribed. They tell how Agricola with his historic wall instituted the first line of blockhouses, how this general discovered Ireland but was forbidden to invade it by a

[1] What his "star" became to Napoleon, a goddess ancestor was to Cæsar and the significance of a serpent-sire to Alexander. The Roman, when he got back to Rome, dedicated to Venus a corslet made of British pearls.

[2] Both Prasutagus and Catus are wrongly spelt in the French Barrow, rightly by Napoleon, who evidently knew his Tacitus. "Prasutagus," says Elton, "is one of the few words of unmistakable Gallic origin."

[3] Napoleon's word illegible.

jealous Emperor, how in his last campaigns against the Caledonians his victories were the result of the utilisation of sea-power, as a Roman fleet fed the army and was always at hand in case of need. Among the maxims scattered through this period by Barrow, we may note that "It is hard to find the just mean between severity and weakness, and harder still to preserve it"; that "In every kind of reform, example is always what contributes most to its fulfilment"; that "The Britons, masquerading in togas, thought themselves Romans, not realising that what they thought the garb of culture was for them merely a badge of bondage." Concluding this period the historian points out the cause of Rome's ruin, which was afterwards to some extent the cause of the fall of the first French Empire: "In the intoxication of their successes, the Cæsars never foresaw that by multiplying the number of their slaves they multiplied the difficulty of managing them; well pleased with reigning and conquering, the happiness of their country was of least moment to them."

The Coming of the Saxons

The opening sentences of Barrow's Second Volume would have charmed the youthful La Boétie, whose Treatise against Voluntary Slavery, written two hundred years earlier, was probably the most progressive pamphlet of a progressive century. "When the Romans quitted the island for good, the Britons, left to themselves, became their own defenders. Could they have recalled the bravery and valour of their ancestors, they would soon have become a great and mighty people, but servitude overwhelmed them, and by taking away from them all desire of bettering themselves it had quenched in them every thought of liberty." The Picts and Scots looked upon them not as foes, but as beasts of burden or as a herd consigned to destruction. The shrewd com-

ment on Saxon invasions,[1] and the praise of Rowena, are not alluded to by Napoleon. Concerning the former, Barrow points out that, had Vortigern been able to prevent the Saxons from multiplying, all might have been well; but (like the typical Scot of Johnson's time), this "indigent and boisterous people, swarming thither like ants,"[2] sent for their relatives to help in possessing the good land. Of Rowena (Mr. Freeman says "No English woman ever bore this name"), "She united the cunning of her father Hengist to the charms of her sex." Barrow quotes Nennius from the statement that Vortigern became *épris* of the fair Saxon and married her. Geoffrey of Monmouth, who writes on hearsay the fuller details, first gives her a name, which in his Chronicle is Rowen. In Polydore Vergil it is Ronix. "Hengistus, perceiving his people to be very well accepted of the King, began so like a fox to deal with him, that he might inflame his mind with love, which is the thing above all others doth blind, bewitch with folly, and sometimes destroy men, yet with such pleasant poison that they perish without open grief." Vortigern's battle against Hengist at Folkestone[3] is described by Barrow. This great fight, for which the Britons had made two years' preparations, may have been near Hythe, where the bones and axe-cleft brain-pans of a slaughtered host are still preserved —a Colosseum of skulls, where for generations London dentists were said to have found a happy hunting-ground. Barrow's praise of the Briton Ambrosius,[4] which takes up many pages, is thus summarised by Napoleon, under the date 465: "Ambrosius Aurelius, *Prince of Wales* (sic) was made chief or king to succeed Vortigern." The next forty years was a weary fight between Briton and Saxon, in which the latter were ever receiving fresh reinforcements. The Britons made the most of their

[1] "With the landing of Hengist and his war-band English History begins." —Green, "The Making of England."

[2] Polydore Vergil.

[3] Nennius calls it "Lapus tituli," but this was on Thanet.

[4] Merlin.

advantages, which were practically those of the Boers in the last war. They were lightly armed, had special knowledge of their own country, and were quicker on their legs than the Saxons. All these things gave them advantages against an enemy heavily armed but very well disciplined. They fought the Saxons at a distance, retiring if they advanced, but pursuing when they retreated. In this way the Saxons lost many of their best troops. Like all conquerors from oversea, the Saxons (as Green points out) were weak in attack, being nervous about their communications; while the Britons, like all sons of the soil, stubbornly contested every point of vantage. It took the invaders thirty years to conquer Kent.

But new adventurers were ever landing on our shores. Up Southampton Water in the year 495 came Cerdic,[1] the father of our kings to be, while Porta gives his name to the great haven "in the county of Hamp." Napoleon ignores Arthur's parentage, and simply calls him the nephew of Ambrosius;[2] while Barrow refers his readers to Geoffrey of Monmouth—an author always as refreshing in his way as Froude and Macaulay, and partly for the same reasons, although they have no revelations which can compare with the Prophecy of Merlin. Barrow notes that Henry of Huntingdon declares that Arthur himself in one battle slew four hundred and forty Saxons. Of the last fight with Modred Barrow gives an account, and apotheosises Arthur as the last of the British heroes, who "sustained for long with indomitable courage the interests of his enfeebled country. Nothing stopped his impetuosity. His justice was inflexible, his morals spotless, his generosity boundless, and his piety genuine." So, he adds, say the bards of his time, who, by the way, seem to have been exceptionally well paid for their laureate labours by King Arthur.

[1] He gave his name to Cerdicsford, now Chardford.

[2] Uther's British name was Nazaleod; he was a first-rate fighter, and Hampshire was long called after him.

Henceforward the history of Britain becomes the history of Wales, and the history of England that of Saxon settlers and Baltic buccaneers—the troubles of the Saxons dating from their loss of sea-craft. Napoleon cites the formation of the kingdom of Northumbria by Ida the Angle, but Barrow alone gives the landing at Flamborough.[1] Both mention Crida and the formation of the kingdom of Mercia. Napoleon then gives a digest of Saxon law, and explains "hundred," "weregild," and "wapentake" with commendable brevity and lucidity. "Their government was aristocratic; they had days fixed for public assemblies. They went to them armed. A chief magistrate presided over them. Heads were chosen for the supervision of the counties, &c. A hundred members supported them. Property passed from father to children without any need of a will. The friendships and quarrels of the fathers were left as a legacy to their children, who always fulfilled the trust. The charge payable for bloodshed was on a sliding scale from king to peasant. Husbands, instead of receiving a dowry with their wives, gave a marriage settlement. When the latter were convicted of adultery the husbands cut their hair off, and repudiated them in the presence of their own relations, flogging them the whole length of the way." He fails to note the addition of Barrow, that this harsh custom was modified later.

Epitomising his author, Napoleon gives an outline of the Saxon Theogony. "The Sun, the Moon, the god of War, Wodin" (Napoleon writes *d*ieu; the translator of Barrow *D*ieu), "his son Thor, his wife Frigga, Tuisco, Teutates, Hesus, were the objects of their worship. Thor was the God" (*D*ieu this time) "of the air, and presided over tempests, winds, rain, &c. Tuisco presided over justice. Nerthus" (Barrow and his translators have *H*erthus, which word Grimm shows to be wrong),

[1] John of Wallingford says Ida brought his father Eoppa and sixty Saxon ships in 547, and became the first Anglian king. William of Malmesbury says he was the third son of Wodin.

"or the Earth, was in their system the universal mother, who directed all human affairs. Her temple was a chariot, covered with a sacred veil. It was placed in a hallowed grove on an isle of the Atlantic, and drawn by cows. When it pleased the goddess to honour any place by her presence, happiness reigned there immediately." Napoleon ignores Barrow's description of the auguries, such as the neighing of the sacred white horses, and the ordeal of battle with a captured prisoner. He ignores likewise their mode of life, their love of drink and hospitality, their plain diet, their mania for gambling—wagering even their own freedom —their lack of brains, their handsome face and figure, their bravery and hardiness, their unparalleled cruelty to their prisoners. Napoleon makes a comment of his own at the close of this chapter of Barrow : "Such were the Saxons who, called to England in 460, were masters of it in 580." (Green says the initial "Making of England" took two hundred years.)

Barrow's next chapter opens with the marriage of the conqueror Ethelbert and Bertha, and the coming of St. Augustine, and is thus epitomised in the Note-Book. "Ethelbert, King of Kent, marries Bertha, daughter of Chérebert,[1] King of Paris. Enjoying full liberty to profess her Catholic religion, they sent Luidhard, a Gallic prelate, to accompany her. She persuaded her husband, who became a Catholic. The monk Augustine, sent by Gregory the Great, finished the conversion, and was made Archbishop of Canterbury." Napoleon, who seldom misses a knock at his late task-masters, the monks, makes here no comment on Barrow's statement (from Bede) that Augustine and his brother did their best to shirk the prescribed visit to England. Forty pages of Barrow elicit but a single note, and this brings us to the chapter on the kingdom of Northumberland. Barrow makes no

[1] This Frankish chieftain inherited Paris as his share of the kingdom of his father, Clotaire. Chérebert (Caribert) began his reign as a Solomon of wisdom and ended also as a Solomon—of women. The Salic law was first enforced on his death.

mention of the high-priest Corfi, his beautiful parable of the sparrow, the defiling of his own altars at Goodmanham, but tells of Paulinus and his prophetic charge, of Edwin's laws, his wells and copper buckets for the thirsty wayfarer, his overlordship of the Heptarchy, and of his conversion. The last only is noted by Napoleon. His marginal note to the next hundred and fifty years (600–750) is "Persecution on account of Religion." He notes the first St. Paul's Cathedral, built by King Sebert in the year 600, and the massacre of the monks of Bangor[1] by Ethelfrith, both of which events are mentioned earlier in Barrow's book. As examples of persecution he cites the cruelties of Ceadwalla, the vows of Oswy, and the murder of Osred. The young Corsican had always an eye to a picturesque incident, as witness his pithy description of that seventh-century Chinese Gordon, King Sigebert. This East Anglian chieftain, having laid foundations for Cambridge University, had retired into a convent when the incapacity of his successor (his cousin) made his subjects insist on his re-ascending the throne to repel the attacks of the pagan Penda.[2] Sigebert went to meet his enemies armed only with a cane, trusting to the efficiency of his prayers to render vain the activity of his enemies. Napoleon quietly adds: "He was mistaken, and was killed." A paragraph or two lower he writes: "The monks blackened the reputation of all the great princes." He next enters the story of Offa's repentance, and his institution of Peter's pence.[3] Henceforth Romescot or Peter's pence was paid regularly up to the reign of Henry the Eighth.

[1] They were condemned just as a Marconi station at the seat of war would be to-day: "Truly," said Ethelfrith, "they fight against us, though they are unarmed, inasmuch as they oppose us with their hostile imprecations." Balaam fared better.

[2] "The man of his time," says Carte, "who best understood the art of making war in parties, by stealth and surprise." From Mercia he dominated England, and was over eighty when killed in his last fight.

[3] So called because levied on August 1, the feast of St. Peter ad vincula. Every one who had thirty pence rent per annum paid one penny.

The epoch-making reign of Egbert is dismissed in four lines in the Note-Book : "Egbert assembled a Council at Winchester. This gathering consisted of clergy and laity. He was crowned king there, and he commanded that in future all distinctions should cease. He called the new realm England." A marginal note adds, "This is the first king of the Monarchy."

The table of Saxon kings, which follows, is Napoleon's own compilation, and must have taken much time :—

[TABLE OF SAXON KINGS OF ENGLAND.

SAXON KINGS OF ENGLAND

WESSEX	ESSEX, *or* EAST SAXONS	SUSSEX, *or* SOUTH SAXONS	MERCIA	NORTHUMBERLAND	EAST ANGLIA	KENT
Cerdic, 495 Cynric, 534 Ceawlin Ceolric Ceolwulf, 597 Cinegels Cenwall, 643 Sexburga (female), 672 Aescuin, 673 Centwin Coeadwalla, 685 Ina, 689 Ethelhard, 727 Cuthred Sigebert, 754 Kenwulf Bertric, 784 Egbert, 799 The kingdom of Wessex is bounded on the west by the kingdom of Sussex,[1] on the east	Erchenwin, 527 Sledda, 587 Sebert, 597 (This king became a Christian.) The three brothers Sigbert, 623 Swithelm, 661 Sigher Seba Offa, 704 Seolred, 709 Swithred (This prince was the last king of Essex. Egbert subdued this kingdom, and united it to his States.) *Boundaries of this kingdom:* On the east the German Ocean,	Ella Cissa, 514 They were for the space of fifty years under the yoke of the kings of Wessex, which they shook off by electing Adelwach, 648 They fell again under the same yoke. Authun, 722 In 780 this kingdom became an appanage of the kingdom of Wessex. The kingdom of Sussex was of small extent; it comprised	Crida Ethelbert, king of Kent Wibba, 616 Penda Peada Wulfhere, 660 Ethelred, 675 Kenred, 704 Ceolred, 709 Ethelbald, 716 Offa Egfrid, 796 Kenelm (Kenulf) Keolwulf, 819 Bernulf Witgalph, 825 (Witlaf) At this period King Egbert, already master of the kingdoms of Essex and Sussex, from Northumberland took posses-	Ida, 547 Adda, 559 Adda reigned over the kingdom of Bernicia, and Ella, second son of Ida, reigned over the kingdom of Deira. BERNICIA Adda Glappa Fridulf Theodric Edelric Ethelfrith Ella reigned 29 years, *i.e.* during the time that the five others reigned in Bernicia. Ethelfrith, 586 Edwin, son of Ella, 617 Anfrid Osric Oswald, 634 Oswy, 643 Egfrid, 670 Alfrid, 686 Osred, 705	Uffa Titel Redwald, 601 Erpwald (became Christian) Sigebert, 633 Egric, 634 Anna Ethelric, 654 Ethelwald Ardulf Alphald Beorn. Ethelbert (jointly) Ethelbert assassinated by Offa. His kingdom was united to that of Mercia in 792.	Hengist, 457 Esca, 484 Emaric, 542 (Ermenric) Ethelbert, 560 (married Berthe, daughter of Childebert, king of Paris, 597) Eadbald, 616 Ercombert, 660 Egbert, 664 Lothair, 673 Edric, 685 Withred, 694 Edbert, 725 Ethelbert, 748 Aldric, 760 Ethelbert, 794 At this period it became tributary to the kingdom of Mercia, of which it formed a part.

by the Thames, on the south by the English Channel, and again by the Thames. Winchester (capital), Southampton, Portsmouth, Salisbury, Dorchester, Sherborn, &c.	on the south the Thames, on the west the kingdom of Mercia, on the north that of East Anglia. It comprised Essex, Middlesex, and a part of the county of Hertford. London was its capital.	the counties of Sussex and of Surrey, and a large part was covered by a great forest called Andredes Wald.	sion of the kingdom of Mercia, which then comprised the kingdoms of Kent and of East Anglia. At the period of 825 the seven kingdoms were united in one. Thus ended the Saxon Heptarchy. *Boundaries:* On the south, Kent, the kingdom of Sussex, and that of Wessex, from which it was separated by the Thames. The Humber bounded it on the north, on the east Essex and East Anglia, Lincoln, Nottingham, Warwick, Leicester, Coventry, Worcester, Derby, Oxford.	Cenred, 716 Egbert, 745 Oswulf (Osalf) Mol-Ethelwald, 757 Ethelred Alfwold, 778 Osred, 788 Ardulf, 798 Erfwold Egbert, king of Wessex, took possession from henceforth, 802 *Boundaries of the kingdom of Northumberland:* This kingdom was separated from Mercia by the Humber on the south. On the east it was bounded by the German Ocean, on the east and north by the Tweed in Scotland. York (capital), Durham, Lancaster.	*Boundaries of this kingdom:* On the north by the Humber and the German Ocean. On the south the kingdom of Essex, and on the west that of Mercia, Norwich, Ely, Cambridge, Hertford.

[1] *Sic* in Barrow and Napoleon.

PART III

CONQUESTS OF NORTHMEN—HOME AND COLONIAL

"Not the Danes of Denmark, but the Danes of Rouen, of Caen, of Bayeux, became Lords of the Realm of Aelfred and Edgar.

"Courage indeed was a heritage of the whole German race, but none felt like the men of the North the glamour and enchantment of war."

—GREEN, "Conquest of England."

WE have already seen that Napoleon gives but brief notice to "The Father of the English Monarchy," as Barrow calls him. The latter reminds us how Egbert had been trained for court and camp under Charlemagne, who had taught him "diplomacy, that sombre craft, necessary maybe, but a disgrace to humanity."

Considering how deeply the conquests and Empire of Charlemagne moulded the channels of Napoleon's Imperial policy, and considering that, concurrently with Notes on English History, at Auxonne he was making comments on Mably's observations on the History of France, it is somewhat strange that no allusion is made to the French Emperor of the West, whose conquests covered a lesser field than those of his future disciple, but whose realm "stretched from Brittany to the mountains of Bohemia and from Zaragoza to the mouth of the Elbe." Lucien Bonaparte spent his years of exile at Rome in manufacturing twenty thousand verses in honour of a Catholic Church triumphant, which had merit enough to win the approval of a Pope and to be translated by a future Anglican Bishop—Dr.

Butler of Shrewsbury School. Lucien introduces Egbert as follows :—

> "Egbert de Charlemagne imita les exploits.
> Comme au temps de ces rois,
> Puisse la paix unir les rives de la France
> Aux rives d'Albion, fille altière des mers.
> Rappelons par nos vœux, cette heureuse alliance,
> Qui peut seule calmer les maux de l'univers."

As Charlemagne had been dazzled by the glories of Imperial Rome, and determined, as Guizot says, to unite in himself the greatest qualities of Cæsar, Augustus, and Constantine, so Napoleon found in Cæsar and Charlemagne his only ideals—great in council as in camp. Like Charlemagne he determined that a Pope should bless his coronation, but, knowing the dangers of pampering a Pontiff, he made Pius VII. come to Paris, and at the last moment decided to crown himself. In memory of Charlemagne he wore that monarch's iron crown, taken from Lombard's king a thousand years before, and the month before Waterloo he held his Champ de Mai. Charlemagne with his nine wives also, if need were, offered various precedents for divorce. To commemorate the birth of the King of Rome an exquisite manuscript (which a thousand years earlier had been given by Charlemagne himself, to commemorate his own son Pepin's baptism, to the abbey of Saint Servin near Toulouse) was brought from that town and presented to Charlemagne's successor. The volume had taken seven years to perfect, and was a unique example of ninth-century art.

Indifferent sea-power had let in the Saxons, and was now to let in the Danes. Barrow, mindful of Byng's recent faint-heartedness at Minorca, is probably glad of an object-lesson from the past. "When the Saxons made their first descent upon the kingdom, their sea forces were superior to those of all the Powers of Europe. But, being divided into small States, their wars with

the Britons and their own tribal conflicts soon destroyed their naval glory. Weary of a wandering life, all their thought was for peace, prosperity, and a home. *So long as they were masters of the sea they ran no danger.* That element provided for them in abundance the necessities of life, but as soon as they devoted themselves to agriculture, their neglected ships rotted in the harbours. This carelessness was the cause of the misfortunes which overtook England towards the end of Egbert's reign.[1] He points out that for the Danes the profession of a pirate was not only necessary but honourable; kings themselves had not thought it unworthy of them. His next remark is noted by Napoleon, viz. that the Danish vessels held five hundred men, and were moved both by sails and oars.

Egbert despised his new foes (a fault, remarks Barrow, to which great men are prone) and nearly got beaten in consequence. He is more wary next time and wins, but not easily. "He found in the Danes a brave people, vigorous and enterprising, driven by necessity, and hence obstinate in their undertakings; but, above all, master of an element which always gave them a sure retreat to their own land.[2] The traditional strategy of successful piracy consisted in celerity, alike of attack and retreat, and it is interesting to note that the finest soldier in history inherited his motto, "Ask of me anything but time" from a land whose inhabitants, Corsican or Corsairs, meant the Swift Coursers, the sea-riders who

> "know the strong White Horses
> From father unto son."

[1] Three Danish ships made the first naval foray at Dorchester in 789—just a thousand years before Napoleon was working at his Note-Book, and Louis the Sixteenth's Navy heading helplessly into the Maelstrom of the Revolution.

[2] It was Danish ubiquity which, according to Henry of Huntingdon, disheartened and demoralised Saxon armies. By the time an English king heard of one of their descents, and marched against them—say to Wiltshire—they had left a ravaged county, and turned up in East Anglia.

Barrow attributes the decline of Anglo-Saxon valour to the "ridiculous excess of their devotions which increased their natural tendency to sloth. They were also infected with the lethargy of the period, that is to say, with a taste for turning monk." The Church also had robbed the Saxon kings of their divine ancestors without, like modern missionaries, importing concurrently with the gospel the best up-to-date human weapons with which to repel the more ghostly ones of tribal gods and goddesses. Occasionally their old skill and courage blazed out, as when they defeated the Danes in the naval battle off Sandwich (851) and the land-fight of Aclea. Paris, Bordeaux, and even Toulouse had been ravaged by Northmen prior to the successful raids on great English towns.

Napoleon cannot resist noting the Bruern Bocard episode, which helped to swell the tide of Danish invasion, and their conquest of Northumberland, where Ivar reigned two years in York (866). He also adds the ghastly act of the Abbess Ebba and her nuns, who, unlike the frail ladies of the Terror, preferred to cut off their faces, if not their heads, to preserve their bodies.

ALFRED THE GREAT

The early part of the reign is not commented on by Napoleon. The invention by Alfred of light-draught coast-guard galleys, the perjured Bracelet oaths, the capture of the Danish palladium—their Raven standard—his gleeman visit to their camp, and the victory at Yattenden (Ethandun) are all omitted. The first fact stated is that Alfred made London the metropolis; the second, the founding of Oxford University (882). The epitome of the next ten pages of Barrow is clear and comprehensive, and might have won him applause, even in the time of Taine, as a model of compression. "The code of laws which bears Alfred's name, he compiled at this time. He instituted juries, introduced the

custom of granting bail, and abolished the civil jurisdiction of the nobles and aldermen. He divided the inhabitants into counties, the counties into hundreds, and the hundreds into tens. He created a navy which kept down the Danes and left his kingdom safe from their incursions. The English regard him as the restorer of their monarchy and the founder of their liberty." He died in the year 900, aged fifty-one.

Barrow gives particulars of the new type of ships wherewith Alfred defeated the Danes, and proves that "the bulwarks and safety of England should consist only in her sea-power." The wisdom of Alfred,[1] he adds, was the more surprising considering the ignorance of the age in which he lived, when, as Alfred himself said, "there could not be found a churchman between the Thames and the sea who was competent to translate the simplest Latin book." His workday wisdom, or *nous*, is defined by Ranke as "solid sense at peace with itself." Yet Alfred, like so many men of genius, like Alexander, Cæsar, and Napoleon himself, was afflicted with epilepsy, with which he was attacked even at his marriage feast.

A hazy paragraph by Barrow about Ethelfleda, "lady of Mercia," is luminously rendered by Napoleon. "*Ethelfleda*, sister of Edward, princess of Mercia, governed her kingdom with the greatest intrepidity. She was the model of her brother."[2] This weariless widow is the only woman in our history who wins Napoleon's unqualified approbation. Ranke speaks of her as Alfred's manlike daughter. She died (922) at Tamworth, her capital. The next entry is, "Edward erects Cambridge University (912)"; Barrow says, "makes Cambridge School into a University."

[1] Which he owed largely to his Gothic mother, Osburga.

[2] Barrow calls her *Elf*leda, the "worthy daughter of her sire," and in another place "the model of Alfred." Henry of Huntingdon breaks out into hexameters in her honour, but, bent on his verse rather than veracity, calls her "virgo virago."

Barrow records Edward's death, adding that "he was as great a warrior as his father, and more fortunate."

Of Athelstan, Napoleon merely gives the date; that he is the seventh King of England, and the fratricide[1] of Edwin. Barrow, on the contrary, eulogises Athelstan in a panegyric which might almost be applied to Napoleon himself. "Athelstan was kind to his inferiors, reserved with his nobles, whom he always kept at a certain distance; a soldier among his soldiers, a king among his generals, discreet in council, and remarkably swift in his marches, unalterable in his determinations; his obstinacy nevertheless made him commit faults, but almost as soon he recognised and repaired them. His vigilance and activity made him seize the advantage the moment his enemies made the slightest false move. He was the best orator of his time, and a man of many wiles." His militia laws were ample and well drawn, and the translation of the Bible into English, ordered by him, was probably the greatest event of the reign. The next note is that Edred was the first to bear the title of King of Great Britain.

The eight pages in which Edwy's reign is described are wonderfully well condensed by Napoleon into one paragraph.

"Edwy, young and hapless prince, conceived against the monks a well-deserved aversion. Whilst he was conversing one day with Ethelgiva, a young lady with whom he was in love, Dunstan, Abbot of Glastonbury, saw him, and entering in a rage stormed against his supposed wickedness. This Dunstan, so punctilious, was the same who had appropriated the treasures of Edred. The council of the nation declared against Dunstan. As he was seeking to aggrandise the monasteries, the monarch opposed him. Some monks raised the standard of revolt, but the King drove them away, and Dunstan had to fly to Flanders, where the monks declared him an apostle and Edwy an apostate. Soon all the religious orders were in league. The Archbishop

[1] Freeman holds that "there is no evidence at all to connect Athelstan in any way with the death of his brother" ("Historical Essays").

of Canterbury excommunicated Ethelgiva" (marking her forehead with a red-hot iron, and banishing her to Ireland). "The king was obliged to give her up. The monks, on their side, plotted, stirred up the people, and placed the crown on the head of Edgar, the king's brother. They carried hypocrisy still further, and stated that Edgar, placed there by God Himself, a miracle wrought in their favour. The hapless Edwy, dethroned, died of chagrin at seeing the triumph of rascality, and of monkish spite." Yet schoolboys are shrewd in their likes and dislikes, and the fact that for a century after his death the memory of Dunstan was kept green as the patron and protector of schoolboys is greatly to the credit of the "plucky little chap," as Green calls him.

Paganism was dying hard everywhere, and Napoleon realises in priestcraft the key of history. Moreover, everything about monks and clergy fascinates a king's officer under the old régime, still fresh from unhappy discipline at Brienne. Hence he gives nearly four times as much space to Edgar's reign as to those of Alfred and Athelstan. Part of Edgar's long allocutions to the clerical council he had called together is copied at length from Barrow. As concentrated cant Edgar's exhortation to Reform is hard to beat. It fulfilled all Dunstan's[1] wishes, and ruined the secular clergy,[2] whose conduct, bad as it was, could not be worse than that of the monks, in whose favour everything now turned. No wonder, Napoleon adds, that Edgar was considered a saint by the chroniclers, who were nearly all monks. This saint, nevertheless, carried off a nun by force, and had a daughter by her who in due course was herself made a saint (much to the astonishment later of Canute, who could not imagine how a bad

[1] Dunstan, with the worldly wisdom that we associate with the astrologer in "Quentin Durward," declared how at Edgar's birth he had heard angels singing that the land should have peace so long as Edgar reigned and *our Dunstan* lived.

[2] These had been fostered by Edwy, and allowed to live in monasteries; a fact that had greatly incensed William of Malmesbury by having made his home "a stable of clerks."

man could be a saint's father !) This precious saint (Edgar) is said to have slain with his own hand Ethelwold, his confidential minister, who had betrayed him in an affair of gallantry. Barrow sums up his character : "He was generous after second thoughts, pious on principle, virtuous from policy, yet openly wicked. Still the monks, his friends and historians, ascribed to his dead body, placed by the Grand Altar of Glastonbury Cathedral, the power of performing miracles." Freeman, who is a great admirer of Dunstan, ranks Edgar as one of our greatest kings, chiefly on account of his laws. The good Archdeacon Henry of Huntingdon calls him "Edgar the peaceful, that glorious king, that second Solomon," and, as is his wont, bursts into rapturous verse in his honour. He adds that Edgar reigned sixteen years in greater glory than all the rest, which goes to confirm the importance of his reign and the space allowed to it by Napoleon.

Napoleon now notes the conversion of the Welsh tax into a payment of three hundred wolves' heads, and the martyrdom of King Edward.

Barrow's account of Ethelred's reign is clear and interesting, but is unjust to the capacity of Ethelred. His mother may have neglected his education, as is said, but a self-willed king at twelve must have been an impossible pupil for a woman in those days. Green points out that the nickname of *Unræding* was given him because of his impatience of direction by the great lords, and that the name of *Unready* was a mere blunder by later transcribers. "Unready, shiftless, without resource, Ethelred never was."[1] His temperament seems to have approximated to that of our King John, but he had the wisdom to divide Northmen against Northmen by his marriage with Emma, daughter of the Norman duke, Richard the Good (1002). By this means Norman ports were henceforth closed to the Danes, and a Norman lady as queen or queen-mother wielding power in England for the next fifty years was the founder of that Norman

[1] "The Conquest of England."

colony whose ever-growing interference in the affairs of England was only to end in the final conquest of Senlac (*Green*). As Vortigern brought in the Saxons to his succour, so Ethelred brought in the Normans.

Barrow leaves the impression, probably the true one, that the Anglo-Saxons got nothing but their deserts for the wicked massacre on St. Brice's Feastday (Sunday, November 13, 1002).[1] Exeter, Salisbury, and Norwich were burnt to the ground, and Ethelred sought refuge "in the county of Shrop." The Dane Gelt became an annual burden,[2] and soon aggregated £40,000 a year—an immense sum in those days. Ethelred tried to improve his militia, nor did he forget that "the best means of success lies in having sufficient naval strength." But internal dissensions and a cowed nation ruin everything, and the reign closes miserably. The flight of his wife Emma and the education of her two sons at the Norman court made the Conquest, after the reign of her son, Edward the Confessor, a foregone conclusion.

The history of Edric Streon, *i.e.* Edric the Grabber, is succinctly given by Napoleon. "Edric, a Breton, made Duke of Mercia by Ethelred, betrays his nation and his king, and, after having changed sides several times, ends by being hung [3] by the orders of Canute." The ingenious but cowardly manner in which Edric murdered Edmund Ironside, Canute's partner king, is fully told by Henry of Huntingdon. This murder is apparently not believed by Green, who makes the king die naturally. Mainly because he came of a poor stock and was a great debater, the former thinks Edric was badly used by the chroniclers and worse by their successors.

[1] Carte thinks this was mainly confined to Mercia, and that the Midland proverb, "Every parish can kill its own fleas," dates from this time.

[2] "The Dane knew how to milk such easy kine" (Milton's "History of England").

[3] Beheaded first, the body thrown into the Thames, and his head fixed to the topmost tower that Canute might keep his promise to "raise him higher than all the nobles in his kingdom" (Barrow).

Under the heading Edmund Ironside, Napoleon writes, "At the commencement of his reign, the clergy, instead of giving an example of obedience and exhorting the people to defend their country, passed over to the side of the Danes." All the Note-Book has to say of Canute is that he was "at the same time, King of Denmark, Norway, and England." Ethelred for his second wife married Emma of Normandy, and now the young Canute, in the flush of manhood and victory, put away his wife for this charming widow. Yet Canute died at forty, and all his children died young.

The reign of "Edward III., surnamed the Confessor,"[1] is fuller, and tells how the king compelled his venerable mother, Queen Emma (the widow of two kings and mother of two more), to go through the ordeal of fire (walking unhurt over the twelve[2] red-hot ploughshares). This unnatural conduct is attributed by Napoleon "to the calumnies of the monks," who looked upon Edward as weak, priest-ridden, and impotent in every sense of the word. Barrow gives a chastened eulogy of Earl Godwin, omitted by Napoleon: "Thus died the most powerful subject who had ever been seen in England, and one of the greatest men the nation has produced, if his virtues had equalled his genius and capacity." He was the first great English statesman who was free from the trammels of the Church, and had won his position by sheer ability.

Barrow loiters over the story of Macbeth, also ignored in the Note-Book, which begins the new dynasty, "Race of Godwin, Harold II. 1066." Harold was elected by the general vote[3] King of England. Unlike his father he had no sympathy with the

[1] Milton's comment on Edward's bride, Earl Godwin's daughter, is characteristic. He says she was "commended much for beauty, modesty, and *beyond what is requisite in a woman*, learning."

[2] One of the chroniclers says *nine* (the usual number), but that she was hoodwinked. The irons were heated by the priest in the church, and besprinkled with holy water.

[3] "The true choice of every English heart" (Freeman in "Historical Essays").

fostering of friendship overseas, and the severing of the good understanding that his father had preserved with Flanders, Norway, and especially with the Papacy, was a neglect on his part which was to be dearly paid for. William, Duke of Normandy, opposed him by virtue of Edward's will, and was soon armed with a Papal Bull which excommunicated all who opposed him. It is true that to obtain this Bull William promised the Pope to make England a fief of the Holy See.

"Thus were all the ambition and violence of that invasion covered over safely with the broad mantle of religion."[1]

Except for the difference in the British navy, and of a united kingdom and dynasty, the difficulties of William's invasion differed but slightly from those which would have beset Napoleon a hundred years ago. Hume, writing a few years later than Barrow, says of William: "He knew that England was entirely unprovided with fortified towns, by which it could prolong the war; but must venture its whole fortune in one decisive action against a veteran enemy, who being once master of the field, would be in a condition to overrun the kingdom."[2] Curiously enough, nothing beyond the mere entry of 1066 and the battle of Hastings is given. Napoleon omits the legendary exploit of the hardy Norseman who, in defence of Tosti's army at Riccall, is said to have killed with his battle-axe forty men on Derwent Bridge. It is hardly likely to have appealed to a military student who preferred brain to brawn as a winner of battles. But few battles of the period are more instructive than Hastings, and Napoleon, who afterwards engaged Dutens to write an adequate life of Marlborough and his battles, might have paused—and probably did so—over the mischance of poor Harold; beaten, more-

[1] Hume.

[2] On the other hand, Rapin, a practical soldier, writes: "Never project seemed more rashly formed, or with less appearance of success. . . . Even after he had landed a powerful army, not a single lord declared in his favour. . . . But the event has . . . determined the historians to extol an action they would infallibly have blamed had it proved unsuccessful."

over, on his birthday. Barrow introduces the battle-piece quite in the Livy style, and speaks of the two armies, "commanded by the two greatest generals of the age, both worthy of their good fortune, but both of birth inferior to their fortune, and both fighting for an Empire and for life." Surely the future conqueror of a continent must have noted the supreme moment when Harold, like Mack at Marengo, but an infinitely greater man, "victorious in danger, was conquered in the very hour of triumph." As a soldier, Harold deserved the victory; as a general, William. "The power of grasping the new idea, and the readiness to subordinate individual thought to the skill of the commander, were on the side of the invader." [1] Tactics similar to those which won Hastings were to win Rivoli and Wagram. Ranke ascribed William's victory to his "ironclad cavalry," the picked chivalry of Europe; for at Hastings England was not overwhelmed by Normans alone, but by a European coalition—Hildebrand's Holy War—which was to serve as a working model for the coming Crusades.

[1] Gardiner and Mullinger.

PART IV

NORMANS AND EARLY PLANTAGENETS

After William the Conqueror, it seems desirable to reproduce in translation an exact copy of Napoleon's own commonplace books, which is therefore now given, including his original marginalia. The paragraphs in this chapter, and subsequently in each reign, are indicated in alphabetical order; the notes to each paragraph (if any) in numerical order.

A. 1.[1] After the battle of Hastings, Stigand, Archbishop of Canterbury, surrendered to William on condition that his privileges should not be encroached upon. In this revolution the clergy were the first to submit. *Battle of Hastings, 1066.*

A. 2.

B. 1. The Abbot of St. Albans, a zealous patriot, headed a con-

C. 1. spiracy against the usurper William.

C. 2. The dauntless Hereward de Wake had fortified himself in the Isle of Ely, and had defied William's star. The Conqueror, grasping the situation, confiscated the English property of the monks of Ely, whereupon the monks gave up an approach by which the Normans got hold of the island. Thus, in order

C. 3. to regain their worldly possessions, the monks betrayed the remnant of English patriots. (This isle of Ely, in Cambridgeshire, often served as a refuge for patriots.)

THE NORMAN LINE. William the Conqueror is the only king who has up to this time reigned over all England.

D. 1. The troubles of Walcher, Bishop of Durham, are known to history by their tragic end. The people's patience was thoroughly exhausted when he tried to justify the murder of a gentleman whom his own men had killed. They rose up and slew both him and his retainers. *Religion.*

The Bishop of Bayeux, William's brother, plundered on so vast

[1] These notes will be found on pp. 125–145.

a scale that he amassed enormous wealth, and conceived the idea of having himself elected Pope; but William had him arrested. E. 1.

Gilbert, Bishop of Lisieux, and the Abbot of Jumièges were William's doctors. F. 1.

William, when he died, gave part of all his vast treasures, the fruit of the worries of a twenty-nine years' reign, to the monks and churches. G. 1.

If William's avarice was his people's ruin, and if he amassed in England alone one million two hundred thousand pounds sterling of that period, which amounts to twelve million pounds sterling to-day, his passion for hunting was not less ruinous, and in Hampshire he devastated a district of nearly thirty miles in extent, destroying its inhabitants and razing houses and plantations in order to make a deer-forest of it. He instituted the Court of the Exchequer to examine and check the accounts of all officers employed in levying crown revenues, and to judge dilatory or defaulting debtors.

1082.

1071. H. 1. H. 2.

2 WILLIAM II., called the Red-haired, 1087. He died while hunting, from an arrow destined for a stag.

William caused the Register, under the name of the Great Terrier of England, to be compiled and finished, which took six years. This Register was deposited among the archives of the Exchequer. I. 1.

After the death of William, his sons William and Robert contested the kingdom. The former, to get the casting vote, caused money to be distributed amongst the monasteries, and by gaining the monks obtained the crown. I. 2. J. 1.

3 HENRY I., surnamed Beauclerc, 1100. This prince died without male issue, left only Matilda, married first to the Emperor and afterwards to a Plantagenet.

Odo, Bishop of Bayeux, and the Bishop of Durham were both at the head of factions. J. 2.

It is from Henry's reign that the English nation's charters of privilege date. K. 1.

HENRY II. is their son.

By virtue of the decrees of the Council of Lambeth, Matilda, sister of Edgar the Atheling and sole scion of Cerdic's race, was freed from her vows and placed upon the throne. She married Henry I.

About this time there commenced the dispute concerning the investiture of sees and benefices, which had always lain with
M. 1. the kings. Anselm, Archbishop of Canterbury, re- 1102.
M. 2. fused to consecrate the bishops chosen by the king unless they had been consecrated by the Pope. At length, when Pascal was Pope, all was arranged, and the king desisted from investing, while the bishops rendered him homage in return. It was at this time also that the clergy were compelled to remain celibate, following the example of the 1114. monks. The monks of Canterbury chose their archbishop, the bishops confirmed the choice, and the king installed him, *e.g.* the election of Raoul.

N. 1. This year the Pope sent into England Cardinal Crema in the character of Legate. In a Council held at London he carried a Statute against the Marriage of the Clergy, 1124. which he declared was a terrible crime, and the same night was himself caught in a harlot's bed.

O. 1. The Bishop of Winchester, brother of King Stephen and
O. 2. Legate, allowed himself to be corrupted by the
O. 3. Empress Matilda, inasmuch as she promised to leave
O. 4. at his own disposal the vacant bishoprics and abbeys,
O. 5. and he took up arms against his brother. Some
O. 6. time afterwards he betrayed the Empress a second
O. 7. time.

STEPHEN, 1135. *Battle of the Standard gained over the Scotch*, 1138. *Battle of Lincoln, won by Matilda over Stephen.*

P. 1. Miles, Earl of Hereford, having been excommunicated, was slain by an arrow by one of his vassals.

The Archbishop of Canterbury, having put the estates of Stephen under an Interdict, condemned therein
Q. 1. all the people; and although he was of the hostile 1148. faction, his Interdict took effect, and divine services ceased.

R. 1. Stephen signed a Charter in which he recognised his election at the hands of the clergy and of the people.

Race of the Plantagenets

Adrian IV., Pope, of English birth, granted a Bull to Henry II. to reduce Ireland under his sway. S. 1.

HENRY II., 1154. *Henry II. was son of a daughter of Henry I. and of the Duke of Anjou. Religion.*

A clerk, having seduced the daughter of a Worcestershire gentleman, killed the father, who was seizing him for his crime. He was shut up in the Royal prisons; but Becket, Archbishop of Canterbury, had him put into his prison. T. 1. T. 2.

A few churchmen had in quite a short time assassinated more than a hundred persons, and had been sheltered from the chastisement prescribed by the laws. King Henry complained of the corruption of the ecclesiastical judges who, if the bribe were big enough, condoned the most outrageous offences. It was at this time that the Archbishop declared that he would never sentence a churchman to death, no matter what his crime might be. The U. 1.

1163. Constitutions of Clarendon were then drawn up by the Bishops, but disavowed by the Pope and by the Archbishop, Thomas Becket. Pope Alexander now filled St. Peter's chair. He disapproved of ten articles out of sixteen, as contrary to the canons of the Church. Thomas Becket, Archbishop of Canterbury and Papal Legate, having irritated the king against him in all sorts of ways, had the mortification of seeing all his worldly property confiscated. He was accused of having appropriated three hundred pounds to his own use. He was asked to account for five hundred marks which had been lent to him when the army was at Toulouse. He was accused of having misappropriated the revenues of the diocese of York and of many other bishoprics or abbeys when he was Chancellor. As the first sentence was being passed by default the Archbishop entered, the cross in front of him; he appeared only in order to appeal to the Pope, and when the Earl of Leicester was sent to summon him to appear before U. 2. U. 3. U. 4.

U. 5. U. 6. U. 7. U. 8. the King's Court assembled, he withdrew, and at sight of the Cross the guards dared not bar his egress. Becket, living retired near the Pope at Sens, endeavoured to stir up general disaffection. He said that his cause was God's cause, that in his person Christ had been tried by a lay tribunal and crucified a second time. He wrote the king a letter in which he told him that the king held all his authority from the Church, that priests were exempt from human laws, and that the secular powers were subject to the ecclesiastical. Henry was to give up the ancient customs and regalities of his crown.

The mighty weapon of excommunication was at its highest power at this time; but the use they began to make of it soon weakened the fear that it inspired, and people laughed when the Archbishop of Canterbury excommunicated two gentlemen for V. 1. having cut off the tails of his horses.

W. 1. W. 2. W. 3. W. 4. The Bishop of Lincoln and Hugh de Puiset, Bishop of Durham, were at the head of rival factions and commanded troops in person. Henry submitted himself 1174. to receive discipline at the hands of the monks of Canterbury, after having walked through the city barefoot.

We see in the treaty which was made this year between the X. 1. two kings, that the Queen of France, sister of the King of England, was to return to Paris, and that 1180. she should be paid seven livres per day.

Y. 1. Henry, the king's son, made peace on condition that he should be paid a hundred and ten livres a day for his subsistence. 1182.

Z. 1. It was during the reign of Henry II. that Ireland was united to the English Crown. Ireland was at that time divided into five kingdoms: Connaught, Leinster, Limerick, Meath, and Ulster. Besides these kings there was a great *Ireland.* number of independent princes. The King of Connaught was the chief of the Confederacy.

Aa. The Celts were those who peopled Ireland and England.

About the fifth century Christianity was introduced. The Danes and Norwegians settled on the coasts and inhabited Dublin, Limerick, Waterford, Wexford, Cork, &c. The aborigines dwelt in huts covered with rushes and made of wattles.

Dermot MacMorrogh, King of Leinster, captured Devorgill, daughter of Melachlin, prince of Meath, and wife of the lord of Breany. The King of Connaught, Roderick, having joined his forces with those of the lord of Breany, set out in pursuit of the ravisher. Dermot took refuge in England and asked help of Henry, who allowed him to treat with his barons. Richard, Earl of Pembroke, surnamed Strongbow, undertook to succour Dermot on condition that this prince would give him his daughter and make him the heir of his possessions. Special treaties were also made with other powerful Englishmen, and Dermot departed for Ireland, where he lay hid in a monastery during the winter, prior to driving his enemies from his estates. He gave two districts near the sea to Hervey Montmorency, from whom they passed to the Ormonde family. Dermot having died, the Earl of Pembroke, his daughter's husband, succeeded to the kingdom of Leinster. But the Irish banded themselves together, and would probably have driven out the English had not Henry, at the head of a powerful army, decided to invade Ireland. All the kings of the country swore fealty to him, and after having received the oaths of the clergy, he recrossed to England. Henceforth the kings of England always ruled Ireland, and sent a Chief Justiciar to that country.

1171. Ab. 1. Ab. 2. Ab. 3. 1171. Ab. 4. Ab. 5.

In the second year of Richard's reign the Crusade was preached everywhere. Amid this enthusiasm the Jews were not safe from persecution, for the defeat had been horrible. One calls to memory the Jews of York, who, compelled to seek safety in the castle, were threatened by the Governor himself that he would give them up to the popular

2 *RICHARD I., Cœur de Lion*, 1189. Ac. 1. Ac. 2.

fury, whereupon they overpowered the garrison, and for long resisted the united forces of the high-sheriff of the county, and finally set the castle on fire, all perishing in the flames. 1190.

Ad. 1. Richard, returning from his captivity, caused himself to be
Ad. 2. recrowned, and took back all the Crown lands which were in the hands of tenants. During Richard's reign he exacted on four
Ad. 3. occasions that the Charters should be sealed with as many new seals, in order to pocket the profit of the operation—an extraordinary abuse of arbitrary authority.

Ae. 1. Richard, wishing to build a castle in the Andelys, asked the Archbishop of Rouen to sell him the land for a fair price. This castle was necessary to hold the passage of the river. But the
Ae. 2. obstinate priest put the duchy under an Interdict.

Af. 1. The Bishop of Beauvais having been made prisoner, the Pope demanded his release. Richard sent him the cuirass which the priest had worn on the day of the battle, with this inscription, "Is this thy son's coat or no?"

The Pope put France and Normandy under an Interdict
Ag. 1. because his former preceptor, the Bishop of Cambray, had been made prisoner, with arms in his hands, by the King of France. 1199.

Ah. 1. John obtained a decree of divorce on the pretext of his wife's sterility. The Archbishop of Bordeaux accorded it.

Ai. 1. An intrigue of the monks of Canterbury contri- 3 *JOHN, Lackland*, 1199.
Ai. 2. buted more to the misfortunes of John Lackland than his despotism and tyranny. The Archbishop of 1206.
Ai. 3. Canterbury being dead, the monks of Christchurch assembled by night to choose Reginald. Fearing the opposition of the suffragan bishops, they sent him to Rome to obtain confirmation of his election. Later, being discontented with their choice, the monks elected the Bishop of Norwich at the king's recommendation. Innocent, who wished to find a place for his own

creature, caused Langton to be elected by the monks who were Ai. 4.
at Rome. John, in a fury, drove the monks of Christchurch out Ai. 5.
of England. Innocent thereupon launched his Interdict by means Ai. 6.
1209. of the Bishop of London and three or four other pre- Ai. 7.
lates, who immediately after saved themselves by
flight to France. Their temporalities were seized, while on his Ai. 8.
side the king was excommunicated. Ai. 9.

This year things had got so much worse that the Pope issued Aj. 1.
1212. a Bull by which the English were freed from their
oath of fealty, and whosoever should associate with
the king was to be excommunicated.

Meanwhile, the Barons, incited by the monks and by John's
1213. despotism, leagued themselves together and resolved
to dethrone him. At this crisis Pandulph, the Papal Ak. 1.
legate, came to offer him the peace of the Church. Philip, King
of France, with sixty thousand men and a considerable fleet, was
Dating from this time the English navy was formidable. That of Philip Augustus was destroyed in several combats.
waiting for the moment to cross the sea and join Ak. 2.
the barons, when the contemptible monarch made
peace with Rome, put his kingdom under the protec-
tion of the Vatican and offered homage to the Pope
at Dover on May 15th, and bound himself to pay an
annual tribute of seven hundred marks for England
and three hundred for Ireland. This ignominious act made the
king despised beyond all conception.

A hermit, at this time, predicted to him the loss of the crown Al. 1.
before the end of the year. John hanged him. The Barons and
The Earl of Pembroke was at the head of the patriots.
the nation at large demanded to be reinstated in
the liberties accorded by Stephen and Henry I. Al. 2.
They took up arms, seized London, and the Al. 3.
fugitive king acceded to their demand, and to the
1215. Charter, named Magna Carta, or the Great Charter, Al. 4.
the foundation of English liberty.

Magna Carta confirms the liberty of election to the clergy,
declares that ecclesiastics shall not be amerced proportionately to

Am. 1. their benefices, but according to their patrimonial possessions, fixes the (feudal) service of counties, baronies, and other fiefs; orders barons to enter into possession of properties forfeited for felony by their vassals a year and a day after they Am. 2. have been in the hands of the king; that widows shall not be forced to marry against their will, nor to pay any fees against their dowry; that no scutage or aid shall be imposed without consent of the Council of State, unless to pay a king's ransom, or if it is a question of making his son a knight or marrying his eldest daughter; that no freeman shall be arrested, imprisoned, or dispossessed of his frank-fees, liberties, or freeholds, except by the lawful judgment of his peers; that sheriffs shall hold their county courts but once a month; and that they, as well as Am. 3. governors of castles, coroners, and king's bailiffs, shall hold no pleas of the crown; that the sheriffs charged with the administration of crown revenues in the various districts shall not at their pleasure augment the farm rents in counties, hundreds and tithings, except in the manors of the king's demesne; that the people shall not be maliciously persecuted nor vexed without legal proof in matters appertaining to the furnishing of food, and other services; that pecuniary fines shall be proportionate to the offence and to the means of the culprit, in such wise that they Am. 4. shall not be levied on his landed estate nor on the implements of Am. 5. his trade, but shall be imposed subject to the verdict of twelve notables of the neighbourhood.

The Great Charter, 1215.

The Forest Charter, besides many regulations concerning An. 1. forests, commutes the penalties of those who have slain a wild beast into a fine, or, in case of insolvency, to a year in prison. An. 2. The Pope anathematised the Great Charter, and ordered the barons, in a haughty and ridiculous letter, to submit to their An. 3. sovereign. A body of forty thousand men who were passing from France to England were engulphed in the waves.

HENRY III

THE confederates offered the crown to Louis, son of Philip, King of France, who, in spite of the Pope's prohibition, landed at Sandwich on May 21st. A. 1.[1] A. 2.

Henry III., surnamed of Winchester. 1216.

The king had given to the Pope a tithe of his movable property, but the nation, assembled at Winchester, refused to acquiesce therein, and gave him only a free-will offering. B. 1.

The king demanded fresh subsidies from the nation. From this king's reign forward we find the nation enabled to refuse taxation. C. 1. C. 2.

This prince had married a Frenchwoman.

The assembled barons sent to the king to tell him to remove from his councils and offices Peter, Bishop of Winchester, and that otherwise they would be compelled to drive the king himself from the throne. D. 1. D. 2.

Parliament, 1232.

The Parliament of Westminster sat in judgment on the Bishop of Winchester, although chief minister, and Lovel, the Lord Treasurer, whom, for fear of the Pope, they feared to condemn. Both, however, were expelled from the kingdom. The Bishop of Chichester succeeded the Bishop of Winchester, and as the king demanded the seals of this office to be returned to him, the bishop refused to give them without an order in council. E. 1.

1234.

Parliament refused to grant subsidies to the king, urging as a reason the bad use made of those previously granted him, but on reiterated promises of amendment, and on his again swearing to be faithful to the Great Charter, and disavowing a papal bull favourable to himself, they granted his request. At this time the Bishop of Valence, as the queen's uncle, F. 1. F. 2.

1236.

[1] These notes will be found on pp. 146–155.

was governing the kingdom, but the barons, sick of his exactions, forced him to seek safety in France.

G. 1. At the Parliament held this year, Henry again asked for subsidies, which were refused, and he was asked for an account of those which had already been granted. 1241.

Parliament, incensed at the king's bad conduct and at the bad use he made of the subsidies they had granted him, asserted the right to nominate in future for the posts of Chancellor and Justiciar, proposed to establish a 1244.
H. 1. King's Privy Council as custodians of the kingdom's liberties, with power to use the public funds. It proposed, moreover, to nominate two barons for the Court of Exchequer, &c.

I. 1. The barons on their own authority sent a deputation to the Papal Nuncio to charge him to leave the kingdom.
I. 2. They also sent deputies to the Council of Lyons. 1245.

In order to obtain subsidies, Henry made a show of wishing to intimidate Parliament, but did not succeed, and all help was refused, so that he was compelled to 1248.
J. 1. sell his jewels and plate, which the City of London bought.

K. 1. The City of London for five thousand marks purchased the privilege of having its Mayor take his oath before the Exchequer barons and not before the king. 1251.

By the Parliament held this year at Westminster a subsidy was granted the king towards putting in order the affairs of Gascony, and, in consideration thereof, he swore to uphold the two famous Charters. He summoned not 1253.
only the lay but the spiritual lords. Each of them appeared in Westminster Hall, a lighted taper in his hand, while the king held his right hand on his heart in token of his sincerity. Thereupon the Archbishop of Canterbury pronounced in a loud voice the most fearful anathema on all those who directly or indirectly opposed the execution of the two Charters, or who tampered with the constitution of the realm. Whereon every peer threw down
L. 1. his taper, crying, "Thus may every violator of the two Charters be consumed in hell fire."

He demanded subsidies from his Parliament, which refused them, but promised to grant them if he would for the future give up to it the Lord High Treasurership without making it dependent on the royal authority. M.

1255.

The celebrated Provisions of Oxford were passed this year. They enacted that the post of Grand Justiciar should be given to a man whose capacity and integrity were known and recognised; that the Council of twenty-four, half chosen by Parliament and half by the king, should nominate to the posts of treasurers and judges; that Parliament should meet thrice a year; and other clauses of the like nature. N. 1. N. 2. N. 3.

Provisions of Oxford. 1258.

Nevertheless the Court party resolved to oppose the barons' exactions. Simon de Montfort, Earl of Leicester, was at the head of the patriots. After various vicissitudes war was at length declared between the king and his barons, but peace was made by driving out all strangers from the kingdom, and in consequence of the promise given by the king to observe the Statutes of Oxford, &c. O. 1. O. 2. O. 3.

Simon de Montfort, Earl of Leicester. 1263.

The king was made prisoner at this battle, and thenceforward Montfort governed in his name. Yet the best act of his administration was to give the people a share in the government by admitting them to Parliament. This is the epoch when the Commons were admitted to legislative power. The barons and clergy preserved merely the right to sit in Parliament. P. 1. P. 2.

Battle of Lewes won by the patriots over the Royalists. 1264.

The people admitted into Parliament.

This Parliament established a new kind of government. It divided the executive power between the king and a council composed of three Commissioners and nine lords chosen by them. These had the right to nominate to offices. The king, with consent of Parliament, might change the commissioners. The votes of six councillors sufficed, and, in case these were absent, matters were left to the three Commissioners. Consequently the Earl of Leicester, the Earl of Gloucester, and the Q. 1.

The Earl of Pembroke obtains the Great Charter, 1258, the Earl of Leicester the Provisions of Oxford, 1258.

Bishop of Chichester began by choosing nine councillors, and governed the State.

R. 1. To the Parliament which the Earl of Leicester convoked the year following, each county sent two knights as its representatives, each town and borough sent two citizens.

Battle of Evesham. The Earl of Leicester is killed there.

But the king becoming conqueror by the defection of the Earl of Gloucester from the common cause, regained all his hereditary privileges.

S. 1. The histories of the time are full of the vexatious
T. 1. conduct of the Italian clergy, who held the best livings
T. 2. in the kingdom. This year the people revolted, and the Italians were harried on all sides.

Thus perishes one of England's greatest men, and with him the hope which his country had held of seeing the Royal authority diminished.

Pope Gregory made a bargain with the people of Rome in order that they might aid him against the Emperor, and he promised that their kinsmen should be provided with English livings, and he, in consequence, sent orders to the Bishops of London to

Religion, 1232.

1240.

U. 1. reserve for the Roman clergy three hundred of the best livings,
U. 2. on pain of being suspended. There was no way of raising money which Otho the legate did not try, even to compelling
U. 3. those who had taken the cross to pay a fine and renounce it.

Martin the legate had powers which authorised him to excommunicate all those he found rebellious to his orders. Among other mandates he had that of providing the partisans of the Court of Rome with a

Earl of Gloucester, 1244.

V. 1. thirty marks' annuity.

"I see plainly," said Pope Innocent, "that I must make peace with the Emperor in order to humble these petty princes; for, when the great dragon is once appeased,

1245.

W. 1. we shall find it easy to swallow up these little serpents."

The Pope claimed as his own the personal property of ecclesi-
X. 1. astics who died intestate; all wealth acquired by fraud, all hoards accumulated by usury, all legacies

1246.

X. 2. made in restitution or for pious purposes; when hesitation was

shown in yielding to these outrageous demands, he excommunicated the king, who yielded at once.

As soon as the king felt strong enough to free himself with impunity from the Provisions of Oxford, he appealed to the Pope, and asked to be relieved of the oath which he had made to observe these Provisions. Urban IV. granted him a Bull for this purpose. Y. 1.

1260.

Clement IV. excommunicated dead and living patriots, and put their estates under an interdict. Z. 1.

1266.

When the Earl of Gloucester saw that the king did not wish to observe the Provisions of Oxford, he regretted having opposed the patriots, and raised the standard of liberty; the Legate excommunicated him forthwith. Aa. 1.

1267.

EDWARD I

THE Municipal system of the English Law is due to Edward. It became law at the Parliament of Gloucester under
A. 1.[1] the name of the Statute of Gloucester (1278). *Edward I., Longshanks.*

B. 1. At the Parliament of Westminster was enacted a new Code against robbery and the felling of timber, 1285.
B. 2. &c. Statutes of Westminster and Winchester.

C. 1. Parliament refused to grant subsidies unless the king asked for them in person. Edward, who had been a considerable time in Gascony, was obliged to return 1288. to the island.

D. 1. The death of Llewellyn and the punishment of David caused Wales to submit to the King of England; since this
D. 2 period Wales has always been a province of the kingdom. Its inhabitants were descended from the 1284. ancient Britons who, compelled to abandon their country after the victories of Cerdic and other Saxons, retired into this Province.

A treaty of marriage was concluded between Edward and
E. 1. the daughter of Philip the Bold, King of France, a condition being that the son which should be born from this marriage should have Guienne for himself and his 1294. heirs. In consequence, it was necessary that the King of England should resign Guienne to the King of France who was to keep it forty days, thereupon to relinquish it, putting into the
E. 2. Act (of Cession) the clause above mentioned. The King of France kept Guienne, and would not relinquish it, and this

[1] These notes will be found on pp. 156–163.

was the cause of the war which was kindled between the two nations. E. 3.

The crew of a British vessel were hung at the yard-arm without sparing a single sailor. F. 1.

1293. Henceforward the English Navy was superior to the French; the fleets which the Cinque Ports equipped intercepted the whole commerce of that nation, and the fleet which the king had equipped ravaged the whole coast of France. G. 1.

The Parliament, assembled at Westminster, was composed of deputies from towns and boroughs, a practice of many years' standing, but, so say the historians, now carried out in full completeness. H. 1.

1295. *Great Parliament.*

After the death of Alexander III., King of Scotland, there were twelve claimants to the crown. They put their cases into the hands of Edward, who chose Balliol, and crowned him king. Balliol swore homage to him, and some time after leagued himself with the King of France; but, defeated by Edward, he was compelled to resign the crown and cede his rights to the King of England at Kincardine Castle. After this the king convoked a Parliament at Berwick, which renounced the French alliance, and swore fealty to the king. Scotland was united to the English crown. I. 1. I. 2. I. 3. I. 4. I. 5. I. 6.

1291.

As the king had acted against the privileges of the nation, the barons refused to march against the King of France. J. 1.

1297.

This year appeared in Scotland the renowned patriot Wallace, a rare man, to be compared with any of the greatest which the world has produced. He unfurled amid his countrymen the flag of Liberty. He beat the English at the Battle of Stirling, slaying five thousand of them, was declared Regent of the Kingdom, was beaten at Falkirk by the treason of the Comyns and the Stuarts, and resigned the Regency in order not to give cause of jealousy to the Scottish lords. Comyn was declared Regent, K. 1. K. 2. K. 3. K. 4.

Wallace.

At Falkirk the Scots lost 13,000 *men and the English* 100.

was first defeated by the king in person, and afterwards by three English armies at Roslin (1302).

Peace was concluded this year. The Scots returned under the yoke and all was pardoned, Wallace alone being
L. 1. excepted. The following year this hero was taken 1304.
by Monteith, and suffered the fate of criminals.

Edward, to encourage the nation against the Scots, and to obtain the grant of a subsidy from Parliament, caused
to be published the Great Charter and the laws which 1299.
constituted national liberty.

Bruce had been one of the claimants of the Scottish throne. Seeing Balliol dead and Wallace a prisoner, he formed a project for freeing his country, and communicated his plan
Robert Bruce.
to Comyn, who betrayed him and sent him to the king. While Bruce was in London he managed to escape, and, having reached Scotland, took up arms, slew the traitor Comyn with his own hand and gave heart to his own
side. The Bishops declared for him. The troops 1306.
which had served under Wallace joined him, and he caused
N. 1. himself to be crowned by the Countess of Buchan, sister of the Earl of Fife, in accordance with the sacred
principle that it must be a person of that family 1307.
who should place the crown on the head of one of their kings. He was beaten by the Earl of Pembroke; he returns to the fray, rallies his adherents, beats Pembroke, beats the Earl of Gloucester. Beaten in his turn, he would have been
N. 2. destroyed beyond all hope had not King Edward died at this juncture.

The Jews were driven from the kingdom and many thousands destroyed by the popular fury. The clergy
Religion.
were so pleased at the expulsion that they granted
the king a tithe of their revenues, and persuaded the 1290.
nobles to grant him a fifteenth of theirs, by way of compensation.

Balliol, King of Scotland, had sworn fidelity to Edward. He
1296. obtained a dispensation from his oath from the Court P. 1.
of Rome.

The Pope forbade the Archbishop of Canterbury to grant Q. 1.
1297. subsidies to the king. The latter, indignant, made
such good use of his power that he forced him to
make heavy amends after the most humiliating submission. Q. 2.

The defeated Scots sent ambassadors to Rome to implore the protection of the Pope and to offer him the sovereignty of their
1300. kingdom, which he accepted, and immediately a Bull
was despatched to England to prohibit further invasion ; but Parliament wrote to the Pope, and made him desist from interfering in this affair.

Archbishop Winchelsea refused to contribute to the subsidy. S. 1.
1301. Edward wrote to the Pope, who accorded him a
tithe of the temporal possessions on condition of S. 2.
receiving a share of them.

The treasure kept in Westminster Abbey was stolen, and
1303. the Exchequer lost more than a hundred thousand T. 1.
pounds. The abbot, fifty monks, and thirty lay brethren were put in prison.

EDWARD II

A. 1.[1] GAVESTON, the king's favourite, was loaded with honours, and soon became an object of hatred to the barons and the people. His ignorance of the Constitution—he was a Gascon—and his pride soon brought upon him the hatred of Parliament. The king was forced to entrust to twelve persons, chosen by Parliament, the power of governing the kingdom.

Edward II., surnamed of Carnarvon, 1307, married a Frenchwoman.

A. 2. 1310.

B. This Committee soon showed its hatred for Gaveston. He was declared the king's enemy and banished for life. Other evil councillors were discharged from the king's service. The king was forbidden to leave the realm or to declare war. If he crossed to the Continent, Parliament was at liberty to nominate a Regent; Parliament could appoint to the great offices of the crown, &c. &c.; and in each Parliament a bishop, two earls, and as many barons were to be chosen to receive complaints against the king's ministers.

Gaveston.

1311.

The king's favourite having had the imprudence to return, the patriots under the orders of Lancaster took him,

C. 1. had him put to death, and peace was restored.

1312.

D. 1. Robert Bruce, a man fertile in resource, soon recovered from his defeat, and making a truce which he employed in strengthening his authority, defeats his rivals the Comyns at Inverary, defeats King Edward at Stirling, kills twenty thousand of his men, and wins with thirty thousand men a complete victory over one hundred thousand.

1310.

[1] These notes will be found on pp. 164–166.

In 1321 he once more defeated the Royal army near Byland Abbey. E.

1314. The celebrated affair of the Templars occurred this year. Philip the Fair had them arrested throughout his kingdom. At the Council of Vienna they were accused of heresy. They possessed at this time sixteen thousand lordships in the various Christian States. It was sought in vain to convict them of crimes. The Archbishop of Canterbury (Winchelsea) at the head of the Synod declared them innocent, which did not prevent him from putting into force the Bull of Pope Clement IV. Their property was given by the Pope to the knights of Malta. F. 1. F. 2. F. 3. F. 4.

1312.

The king confirmed the Great Charters, and named Commissioners for the sale of forests, a usual expedient of English monarchs to excite patriotism. Thereupon the Parliament accorded him a subsidy. G.

1315.

The description which historians have left us of the famine experienced this year makes one shudder. H. 1. H. 2.

1316.

Eight bishops, four earls, and four barons were chosen to regulate the affairs of the nation during the interval between Parliaments. I.

1318.

The barons, enraged at the pride of the favourite Despenser, united to destroy him. Hugh d'Anderley, Roger d'Amory, Roger Mortimer, John Mowbray, the Earl of Hereford, Roger Clifford, &c. &c., demanded the favourite at the point of the sword, that they might sacrifice him and satisfy the people. The king refused, and was thereupon besieged in London. The Earl of Lancaster joined the confederates, the Parliament at Westminster sentenced the favourites to exile and their properties to be confiscated. But the favourites returned, hostilities commenced, Hereford was taken, Lancaster was taken and condemned to death, together with nine peers of his faction, by a kind of military tribunal. Thus perished the flower of the patriots. J. 1. J. 2.

1321.

1322.

K. 1. Queen Isabella, sister of Charles the Fair, King of France,
K. 2. the sworn foe of her husband and of his favourites, in concert with Mortimer, with whom she was unduly intimate, crossed into England ; and in the name of the king— 1326.
K. 3. that is, of young Edward, son of the reigning king—she raised an army, and marched against her husband ; seized the elder
K. 4. Despenser, then ninety years old, and had him put to death ; and took the king himself, together with Hugh Despenser the Favourite, the object of popular detestation, who suffered the same punishment as his father.

The Parliament at Westminster deposed Edward II., and declared his crown forfeited. They then had the king arraigned. The Bishop of Winchester set up six heads of accusation, viz. (1) that he lacked the necessary capacity, 1327. since he allowed himself to be governed by favourites who had neither honour nor probity ; (2) that he was unwilling to listen to the wise counsels of the most enlightened men ; (3) that he had spent his time in a manner unworthy of a monarch ; (4) that by his evil ways he had lost the kingdom of Scotland ; (5) that he had oppressed Holy Church ; (6) that he had ruined his people and abandoned them ; and more especially, because there was not the slightest hope that he would amend, it was necessary to depose him. Thereupon young Edward was crowned, and his father's
L. 1. name henceforth was merely Edward of Carnarvon, father of the king.

M. History accuses the Bishop of Hereford of contriving for Edward a most horrible mode of execution. They inserted a red-hot iron into his vitals so that no trace of the mode of death should be visible.

EDWARD III

When Edward II. was deposed, his son Edward III. was crowned. As he was only fourteen years old, a Regency Council was appointed. A. 1.[1]

Edward III., surnamed of Windsor.

Peace was concluded with Bruce, King of Scotland, and he was recognised as an independent king, and his kingdom re-established with its former rights. B. 1.

1328.

Mortimer, the paramour of Queen Isabella, wished to offer violence to the Parliament at Salisbury, which ended in losing for him the good opinion of the nation. His haughtiness and prodigality. The Earl of Lancaster, seconded by the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of London, &c., assembled the patriots, and war was kindled. Yet Mortimer triumphed. The Earl of Kent, his personal enemy, was accused and condemned by Parliament to lose his head, but the nation was so incensed that not a single man could be found to execute him, and after he had remained a whole day on the scaffold, a convicted criminal served as executioner. The Earl of Kent was the king's uncle. But soon Mortimer himself, arrested by order of the king at Nottingham, was condemned by Parliament at Westminster, and perished on the scaffold. B. 2. B. 3. B. 4. B. 5.

1330.

In the plains below Halidon Hill, Edward beat the Scots, slew twenty thousand of them, and had only fourteen of his own men slain. This victory re-established a Balliol on the throne, and yielded to Edward as its fruits the renewing of homage. C. 1.

1333.

The Flemings followed Edward with repugnance until the

[1] These notes will be found on pp. 167–174.

D. 1. latter bethought him of taking the title of King of France,
D. 2. which removed their scruples. This year Edward
D. 3. in person won the naval battle of Blankenberg, in 1340.
which twenty thousand French and two admirals were slain, and two hundred and thirty of their vessels taken.

John Stratford, Archbishop of Canterbury, was arraigned,
E. 1. and refused to reply except to Parliament. 1341.

F. The Parliament of this year was the first in which 1343.
distinctions between the two Chambers are noticeable. The Earls, Barons, and Prelates deliberated in the White Chamber, while the knights of the shires and the deputies of the towns and boroughs debated in the Painted Chamber of the Palace.

G. 1. Battle of Creçy, in which on the French side two kings,
G. 2. many other independent lords and knights banneret, 1346.
G. 3. twelve hundred knights, fifteen hundred gentlemen, *23,000 men at arms, 1200 knights, 1600 foot-soldiers.*
four thousand men at arms, and thirty thousand infantry remained on the field of battle. Three knights and a few soldiers were the entire loss of the English. *The French army 100,000 strong.*

H. 1. Battle of Bear-Park, won by the Queen, wife of Edward, over the Scots. Fifteen thousand of the latter remained on the field of battle, and their king, David, was made prisoner.

I. 1. Institution of the Order of the Garter, in honour of Saint George, the patron of England.

J. 1. Naval battle of Winchelsea. Edward in person, 1350.
with forty-three vessels, defeated forty-four Spanish vessels, and took twenty-four of them.

K. 1. Battle of Poictiers, in which John, King of France, at the
K. 2. head of sixty thousand knights and a still greater number of foot-soldiers, was beaten by the Black Prince and taken prisoner; two dukes, nineteen earls, five thousand 1356.
men at arms, eight thousand foot-soldiers, were slain, and two
K. 3. thousand made prisoners, among others the Archbishop of Sens.

Edward Balliol resigned the crown to Edward, King of
1355. England, who gave him a pension of two thousand L. 1.
pounds sterling.

1376. A Flemish fleet was beaten by the English. M. 1.

The great Edward, fallen into his dotage, allowed himself to be governed by a woman named Alice Perrers, but the N. 1.
1376. Parliament of this year remedied the frightful abuses N. 2.
which were being introduced into the administration of the finances. The favourite was exiled and her property confiscated. Many favourites were sentenced to considerable fines, and Richard Lyons was also charged with having farmed N. 3.
out the king's taxes.

Death of the Black Prince, the hope of the nation, conqueror O. 1.
1376. at Creçy, at Poictiers. Guienne and Spain were the
theatre of his exploits.

1377. Death of the king, abandoned by everybody. P. 1.
Alice Perrers robbed him of his rings and jewels and left him.

RICHARD II

A. 1.[1] THE land-tenants in villenage, who had enriched themselves by
A. 2. commerce, had already made several attempts to recover their
A. 3. liberty. The tax which Parliament granted for paying the hundred and sixty thousand pounds sterling which the king owed, had fallen chiefly upon them. The tax-gatherers in collecting it acted vexatiously, and drove them to desperation. They were inspired by one Walter, a tile-maker, or Wat Tyler, to whom, on his refusing to pay the tax for his daughter as not being of age, the tax-gatherer attempted to prove the contrary; whereat the

RICHARD II. surnamed of Bordeaux. He had married a Frenchwoman. He was son of the celebrated Black Prince.

A. 4. enraged father slew him. The people of Essex, Kent, Sussex, Surrey, Hertford, and Suffolk joined him, and soon to the number of a hundred thousand men were at the gates of London. They presented to the king a list of their demands, consisting in a general exemption from serfdom and slavery, complete liberty to
A. 5. sell and buy in towns, boroughs, &c., the reduction to twopence an acre of the rent of lands held *en roture* (in feu), and an amnesty for the past. Part of the people accepted these conditions and withdrew, but Tyler was inflexible. In the conference which he had with the king at Smithfield he treated him as an inferior. He wished, it is said, to assassinate the king, and was
A. 6. prevented by Walworth. Thereupon the people who were under Tyler's orders accepted the terms offered. Another mob
A. 7. pillaged the Abbey of St. Albans, and burnt the charters there.
B. 1. The Bishop of Norwich, a celebrated warrior, dispersed

[1] These notes will be found on pp. 175–179.

them. Bishops bore arms. In every battle one saw a great number of them: the Bishop of Durham, the Archbishop of York, the Bishop of Carlisle, the Bishop of Lincoln, the Archbishop of Canterbury, commanded at the battle of Bear Park. B. 2.

John Ball, a priest, was a chief of the people's party. Soon after the king revoked their charter. They took up arms, but, beaten at Billernay and at Sudbury, they were completely overthrown.

The same Bishop of Norwich won this year a great victory at Gravelines, and made enormous ravages in France. D. 1. D. 2.

1383.

The king, surrounded by the Archbishop of York, the Duke of Ireland, the Earl of Suffolk, gave himself up to all the worst forms of debauchery. E. 1. E. 2.

Earl of Suffolk.

1386.

The Parliament of Winchester, far from granting to the king the subsidies that he demanded, began by impeaching the favourite, and took away his seals. They took away the post of Treasurer from the Bishop of Durham. Suffolk was put in prison. Eleven lords were chosen to reform abuses and to examine the state of the Treasury from the time of the king's accession. The king swore to submit to the Commission. It established a Council, composed of eleven persons, to reform the royal household, and all that appeared to it vicious. It established, moreover, another Commission. All these bodies tended to enfeeble the king's authority. Subsidies were granted, and deposited in the hands of the Earl of Arundel, High Admiral. Richard, on the last day of the session, ventured to protest. F. 1.

The Earl of Arundel defeated a fleet composed of French, Flemish, and Spaniards; captured the Flemish admiral, fifty-six ships and a hundred and twenty-six merchantmen. G. 1.

1387.

Once more the king recalled his favourites: thereupon the

Earl of Gloucester and the Duke of York, uncles of the king, the Earls of Arundel, Warwick, Nottingham, Derby, &c., leagued themselves together, rushed to arms, and arrived in triumph at London. 1388.

I. 1. The merciless Parliament, which met this year, deprived the Archbishop of his temporalty, and he went to live in Flanders, taking the charge of a parish. The favourites mentioned below
I. 2. were condemned to be hanged, drawn, and quartered. Tresilian, Lord Chief Justice, was executed immediately; as well as Sir Bramber, Sir Burley, who had educated the king from his infancy, Beauchamp, Salisbury, Berners, &c. &c. The king, as having failed in his oath, was declared to have forfeited the crown and
I. 3. was crowned anew. The Earl of Arundel was declared Lord High Admiral in spite of the king, who had taken away this post from him.

J. 1. The king wrote to all the sheriffs whom he had judged suitable, to resume the administration of his kingdom and to suppress the Commissions. Consequently all the measures taken by Parliament were overthrown, and all the persons it had put in office deposed. 1389. *A noble, money worth 6s. 8d.*

All the patriots abandoned the court of the king, who, trembling, caused his uncle the Duke of Gloucester to be seized and
K. 1. smothered at Calais. Thomas, Archbishop of Canterbury, was condemned by Parliament to exile; the 1397.
K. 2. Earl of Arundel was hung. The king chose to be present at this terrible scene. The Earl died a martyr for the liberty of his country.

L. 1. Henry, Earl of Lancaster, heretofore Earl of Derby, crosses to England to avenge the wrongs of his country. He was cousin-german to the king.

The king's troubles were at their height. Surrounded by dissolute corrupters, sunk in debauchery, he was abandoned by all his friends and given up to Parliament, which revoked the oath of obedience to him, deposed him, and chose Henry, Earl of Lancaster, in his place. 1399.

The principal advantage of the English Constitution consists N. 1
without doubt in the fact that the national spirit is always in full vitality, and has its eyes on the conduct of the king, who doubtless can for a long spell of years arrogate to himself more authority than he owns, may even commit injustice considering his great power, but the cries of the nation soon change to thunder, and the king succumbs sooner or later. Much energy is necessary for this government to maintain itself. Great, even violent remedies, are from time to time necessary, and this nation is that of all Europe which has, I think, been subject to the greatest N. 2.
revolutions.

HENRY IV

A. 1.[1] HENRY of Lancaster, cousin-german of the king, was nominated
A. 2. to the throne by Parliament, to the detriment of the Duke of
A. 3. York. The Archbishop of Canterbury opened Parliament with a discourse on its authority, as had been done on the occasion of the deposition of Edward II. The Archbishop of that time commenced *Henry IV., surnamed Bolingbroke,* 1399.
A. 4. with the text, "The voice of the people is the voice of God."

B. 1. The Abbot of Westminster was at the head of the conspiracy which was hatched this year against the king. 1400.

The Lollards, followers of Wyclif, a religious sect, began to be powerful. The Parliament of this year ordered
C. 1. them to retract under penalty of being burnt, and fire and faggot were forthwith made ready. 1401.

D. 1. The Earl of Northumberland and many other English lords, and the Scots leagued themselves together to make
D. 2. war on Henry, who defeated them at the battle of 1403.
D. 3. Shrewsbury. The Archbishop of York perished on the scaffold by a secular sentence.

A tailor named Badby declaimed against the Real Presence in the Holy Sacrament. Arrested at the solicitation of the clergy, he was condemned to be burnt. The king, witness of the execution, would have pardoned him 1410.
E. 1. at the moment when the flames were seizing him had he retracted.

An astrologer foretold to Henry that he should
F. 1. die in Jerusalem. Having fallen ill, he was carried 1412. into a room of the palace called the Jerusalem Chamber, where he died.

[1] These notes will be found on pp. 179–182.

HENRY V

Henry V., surnamed of Monmouth.

1413.

1414.

1415.

1416.

1417.

1419.

ONE of the first events of this reign was the persecution of the followers of Wyclif. Sir John Oldcastle, Earl of Cobham, was condemned to be burnt. The enthusiasm of his confederates saved him. A. 1.[1] A. 2.

A memorable Act of Parliament this year condemned the Lollards, declared that they had no right of sanctuary, and prohibited the reading of the Holy Scriptures in English, under penalty of losing life and property. B. 1.

This year war against France recommenced, and the celebrated battle of Agincourt was fought, in which fourteen thousand English beat a hundred thousand French, who lost ten thousand men. More than six hundred persons of distinction were taken prisoners. The English lost only four hundred men. C. 1. C. 2. C. 3

The Emperor Sigismund, disembarking in England, received a deputation which told him that if he came as a friend and ally he might land, and welcome. But if he made any pretensions to the pre-eminence which France had accorded him, they charged him to return, the Crown of England being free and independent. Naval battle at the mouth of the Seine between the French and Genoese, and the English fleet. Seven French vessels were taken, four sunk, and two thousand men killed. The Duke of Bedford, therefore, won a complete victory. D. 1. D. 2. D. 3.

The French Admiral, the Bastard de Bourbon, was taken captive in a sea-fight. E. 1.

Philip, Duke of Burgundy, was assassinated. F. 1.

Treaty of Troyes. King Henry recognised King of France, F. 2.

[1] These notes will be found on pp. 183–186.

after the death of Charles VI. Meanwhile he was to govern
G. 1. the kingdom as Regent. Princess Catherine,
G. 2. daughter of France, was married to Henry. 1420.
G. 3. Queen Isabella, though mother of the Dauphin (afterwards Charles VII.) was the life and soul of this treaty.

Philip, Duke of Burgundy, full of resentment at the death
H. 1. of his father, breathed only vengeance.

I. 1. The Estates-General of the kingdom were held at Paris in
I. 2. the month of December. Charles VI. presided, and the Estates declared that the Treaty of Troyes would be considered as a public law.

J. 1. Death of Henry V. 1422.

HENRY VI

PARLIAMENT declared the Duke of Bedford Protector and the king's principal counsellor. A Council was chosen for him. A. 1.[1] A. 2.

1422. *HENRY VI., surnamed of Windsor.* *Duke of Bedford, Protector.* The Duke of Bedford crossed into France, and caused Henry, aged two years, to be declared King of France. Normandy, Guienne, Picardy, Champagne, La Brie, the Isle of France, the town of Paris, Burgundy, Flanders, Artois, acknowledged Henry. The provinces beyond the Loire obeyed the Dauphin. A. 3. A. 4. A. 5. A. 6.

1424. Battle of Verneuil; five thousand Scots or French remained on the field of battle. B. 1.

1428. Siege of Orleans. C. 1.

1432. Death of the Duchess of Bedford. The Duke of Burgundy changes sides. D. 1. D. 2.

1436. The English abandon Paris. E. 1. E. 2.

The bickerings of the Cardinal of Winchester and the Duke of Gloucester, and those of the Dukes of York and Somerset, caused English supremacy in France to come to nought. The divisions of the Houses of York and Lancaster ended by giving it the *coup de grâce*. F. 1.

The Duchess of Gloucester kept up correspondence with the so-called Roger Bolingbroke, who professed himself an adept at necromancy. This proved her ruin. The Cardinal of Winchester caused him to be condemned, as guilty of sorcery, to a public penance; and she was imprisoned for the rest of her life. G. 1.

1441.

[1] These notes will be found on pp. 187–194.

H. 1. Truce of Tours. Marriage of Henry with Margaret of
H. 2. Anjou. The Queen and the Duke of Suffolk, the Cardinal of Winchester and the Archbishop of York, united
H. 3. to destroy the good Duke of Gloucester, caused 1444.
him to be arrested, and smothered him without any form of trial.

I. 1. "Sire, take care of your empire. You are surrounded by
I. 2. traitors who lead you astray, and I am convinced that if I had landed in Normandy with your troops 1450.
I. 3. we should have been sold to the enemy," said the *Talbot, famous captain.* Duke of Buckingham to the king, in presence of the Duke of Suffolk.

The Duke of Suffolk, a great favourite of the queen, was arraigned before Parliament. He said that he would not reply to the accusations which were brought against him, except when so ordered by the king. This made *Duke of Suffolk.*
J. 1. Parliament furious. Henry tried to save him, but he was captured at sea, and hung immediately. The nation was at this time in a state of ferment against the queen and her
J. 2. courtiers. The Bishop of Salisbury was killed by the populace.
J. 3. In these circumstances, the Duke of York began to air his pretensions to the crown.

Richard, Duke of York, was descended from a third son of Edward III., while Henry was descended from the fourth. When the nation deposed Richard II. the throne ought, according to right of primogeniture, to have been filled by the Duke
K. 1. of York and not by Henry of Lancaster. This quarrel gave
K. 2. rise to many dissensions, known under the name of the Wars of York and Lancaster.

The king's mind became disordered, and the Duke of York was proclaimed Protector by Parliament. In conse-
L. 1. quence of this, the trial of the favourite, the Duke 1454.
of Somerset, commenced.

M. 1. The Duke of York, the Earls of Salisbury and Warwick,

took up arms against the king, who had recovered his reason,
1455. beat him at St. Albans, killed the Duke of Somerset, M. 2.
and made the king prisoner.
Battle of Northampton gained over the king by Edward, N. 1.
1460. son of the Duke of York. The king was made N. 2.
prisoner.
In the Parliament held this year the Duke of York was designated to succeed Henry VI. Parliament declared that the O. 1. latter should wear the crown until his death.
Battle of Sandal. The queen defeated the Duke of York P. 1. and slew him. This princess marched to London after the
1461. exploit, and beat the Earl of Warwick at St. Albans. P. 2.
Henry, who had been with the army of Warwick, then joined the queen. The Council declared that henceforth the king, having failed in his promise which Parliament had P. 3. confirmed, had forfeited his right to the crown. He was deposed, and Edward, son of the Duke of York, declared king. P. 4.

EDWARD IV

A. 1.[1] EDWARD was scarcely on the throne when he marched against
A. 2. Margaret, the wife of the deposed king, who had defeated his father and the Earl of Warwick. He met her on the banks of the Aire, and slew thirty-six thousand of her men. *House of York. EDWARD IV.*, 1461.

B. 1. Henry VI., having attempted this year to re-enter his kingdom, was captured. The queen and her son escaped to Flanders by the aid of a robber. 1464.

C. 1. The king married the widow of Sir John Grey, of whom he
C. 2. was violently enamoured. This irritated the English nobility, especially the Earl of Warwick. 1465.

D. 1. The Earl of Warwick joined the Duke of Clarence (the
D. 2. king's brother) and Queen Margaret, made a revolution, and replaced the crown on the head of Henry VI. of Lancaster.

E. 1. The partisans of the Earl of Warwick were at first beaten at
E. 2. Stamford, where they lost ten thousand men, but the
E. 3. Earl soon returned and effected a bloodless revolu-
E. 4. tion, and Henry VI. remounted the throne. 1470.
E. 5.

F. 1. Edward returned from Burgundy with reinforcements. The Duke of Clarence rejoined him, seconded by his brother Richard, Duke of Gloucester. Lord Hastings was at this time the most important of Edward's adherents. 1471. Warwick, the Earl of Oxford, the Duke of Somerset, and the Duke of Exeter, were on the side of the Lancastrians. The
F. 2. latter were beaten on Barnet Heath, where Warwick was slain. Henry VI. was once more taken prisoner. The Lancastrians

[1] These notes will be found on pp. 195–199.

were again beaten on the banks of the Severn. The Prince of Wales, sole scion of the House of Lancaster, was captured, together with the principal adherents of his party, who were all beheaded. This battle was called the Battle of Tewkesbury. The same year poor Henry was found dead in the Tower. F. 3. F. 4.

1478. The Duke of Clarence was condemned to death, and it is said that he chose to end his days by being drowned in a butt of Malvoisie. G. 1. G. 2.

1483. Death of the king, aged forty-two. H. 1.

EDWARD V

A. 1.[1] YOUNG Edward was only twelve years old. The queen's party and that of the old nobility now divided the kingdom. The Duke of Buckingham, Lord Hastings, and Lord Stanley were at the head of the latter faction.

Richard and the Queen, under pretext of disputing the regency, raised troops. Richard, the more cunning, got hold of the person of the king and under various pretexts won over the adherents of the queen, who, with her second son, took sanctuary at Westminster.

[1] These notes will be found on p. 200.

RICHARD III

RICHARD was then declared Protector, and by a successful ruse, A. 1.[1]
in which he was aided by the Archbishop of York, he forced the
queen-mother to quit sanctuary, and, with his two
RICHARD III. nephews now in his power, resolved to have them
put to death. He assured himself of the Duke of A. 2.
Buckingham, but could never win over Hastings. He resolved,
therefore, to kill him, and had him arrested, together with Stanley
and the Archbishop of York, whom he caused to be put to death,
and on the 20th June Richard usurped the crown on a pretence A. 3.
that his two nephews were illegitimate. He had them smothered A. 4.
A. 5.
by a man named Tyrell, and in the reign of Charles II. two little A. 6.
skeletons were found which were believed to be those of the A. 7.
unfortunate princes.

But the adherents of the House of Lancaster summoned the
Duke of Richmond, who was in Brittany, and who on his
mother's side was descended from Henry IV. The adherents of B. 1.
the House of York could not forgive Richard for having caused
the two sons of Edward IV. to be assassinated. Every one was
unanimous in condemnation of the usurper's crimes.

The Duke of Richmond, victor at Bosworth, had his suc- C. 1.
cession to the crown assured by the death of Richard, who was C. 2.
C. 3.
slain, being the last of the Angevin race, which had reigned for
three hundred and thirty years.

[1] These notes will be found on pp. 201–202.

THE TUDORS—HENRY VII

A. 1.[1] HENRY TUDOR, Earl of Richmond, was crowned. He instituted
A. 2.
A. 3. as his Guard fifty archers, who were called Yeomen. *HENRY VII., surnamed the English Solomon,* 1485.
A. 4. Parliament confirmed his accession.

B. 1. He married Elizabeth, eldest daughter of
B. 2. Edward IV. By this means the rights of the rival 1486.
B. 3. houses were reunited.

Henry demeaned himself by all kinds of spoliation and violence. Miserly to excess, he persecuted every one who possessed a large
C. 1. fortune. One victim of his greed was the Earl of
C. 2. Derby, who left forty thousand silver marks, besides 1494.
the value of his furniture and three thousand pounds a year income, all of which the king confiscated to his own use.

Henry died this year, aged fifty-three: he left to his son one
D. 1. million six hundred thousand pounds in money, without counting jewellery, plate, &c. Henry VII. encouraged com-
D. 2. merce, made good laws and weakened feudalism. 1509.
D. 3. He loved peace, and his greed often did harm to his policy—as,
D. 4. for example, in the Brittany transaction. To his memory there
D. 5.
D. 6. has been erected at Westminster one of the stateliest monuments now in Europe.

[1] These notes will be found on pp. 203–207.

HENRY VIII

HENRY was eighteen years old at his father's death; it had been A. 1.[1]
HENRY VIII. intended that he should fill the See of Canterbury A. 2.
surnamed Tudor. had his brother Arthur lived; hence his remarkable A. 3.
1509. knowledge of theology and of the philosophy of Aristotle.

Battle of Flodden Field. The Scots were beaten. In it B. 1.
1513. their king, James, was slain, with ten thousand of B. 2.
his best troops.

Wolsey, at first the King's Almoner, was soon raised to the C. 1.
highest dignities. Made Bishop of Lincoln, admitted to the C. 2.
King's Privy Council, Prime Minister, the Pope's Cardinal C. 3.
Legate, he was the most powerful private individual in Europe. C. 4.
C. 5.

The Emperor and the King of France paid him yearly pensions. The Pope, the Emperor, the King of France, the Republic of Venice solicited his friendship. He was Bishop of D. 1.
Palencia in Castile, administrator of the See of Badajoz, while D. 2.
Leo X. accorded to him nearly all the papal dues. He was D. 3.
thrice a candidate for the Papacy, but each time he failed. He D. 4.
was Archbishop of York, and administrator of the See of Bath D. 5.
and Wells.

In a letter of this year Luther offered to lay his doctrine and E. 1.
his life at the feet of Leo X.

1517. Cardinal Wolsey sacrificed the Duke of Bucking- F. 1.
1521. ham to his resentment. The duke was the heir of F. 2.
the king, should he die without children, and detested Wolsey, who caused him to be tried by a secret council, as being guilty

[1] These notes will be found on pp. 208–227.

of high-treason. He was condemned to be beheaded. The
F. 3. Duke of Norfolk was nominated High Seneschal in this affair.
F. 4. In a pamphlet of the period Wolsey was accused of being a butcher's son, and as such thirsting for blood.

G. 1. This year Wolsey, who wished to find money to satisfy the
G. 2. monarch's prodigal disposition, and carry out projects of vengeance against the Emperor, found that money was lacking. 1525.

H. 1. He met with a refusal from Parliament. He wished accordingly to try the effect of arbitrary power, and published a decree in the king's name which ordered the levying of a sixth on lay property and a fourth on that of the clergy—a tax which irritated
H. 2. the nation. Thereupon he was obliged to declare that every one should give what he pleased, but the people rushed to arms, and orders were given throughout the kingdom to desist from levying the tax, otherwise the king would have run considerable risk.

I. 1. Henry notified to Clement his intention of separating from
I. 2. his wife Catherine, aunt of the Emperor Charles V., and petitioned for a Bull of Divorce. Catherine had already been married to Arthur, Henry's brother, and after his death the avaricious Henry VII., to avoid returning the dowry of two hundred thousand florins, married her to Henry. The 1527.
I. 3. love which Henry had conceived for Anne Boleyn was the true
I. 4. cause of his divorce. The Pope made him wait four years, at the end of which time Henry, growing impatient, secretly married his mistress. 1531.

J. 1. The clergy of Canterbury recognised the king's supremacy,
J. 2. and the Pope was declared to be nothing more than Bishop of
J. 3. Rome. Archbishop Warham and Thomas Cromwell contributed more than any one else to the success of this great event.

K. 1. Wolsey died this year in disgrace with his master, as
K. 2. wretched in his adversity as he had been proud in
K. 3. his prosperity. 1530.
K. 4.

L. 1. The English, imbued with the reforms of Luther, and long

inured to the innovations of the Lollards, were marching with rapid strides towards Lutheranism. Henry, who was superstitious, L. 2.

1531. and who had formerly written a book against L. 3. Luther, was irritated thereby, and resolved to make his subjects see that in shaking off the Papal yoke he had not L. 4. announced his abandonment of the Roman faith; and two L. 5. ecclesiastics and a legal practitioner were burnt at the stake. L. 6.

A decree of Parliament of this year exempted the clergy from M. 1.

1532. paying the Pope's annates. M. 2.

This year's Parliament took away from the clergy

1534. the cognisance of crimes, as regards heretics. The N. 1. clergy were prohibited from assembling without the king's writ.

Elizabeth Barton, supported by many Romish priests, caused O. 1. riots, and was condemned by the same Parliament. She predicted among other things that if Henry persisted in his divorce he would die in less than a month. Many monks gave scope to O. 2. their enterprising genius and to their fanaticism. The maid of Kent was executed, and seven bishops were condemned and O. 3. imprisoned. Cranmer was Archbishop of Canterbury and a O. 4. favourer of reform. Cromwell was minister, and enjoyed a great reputation. Thomas More and Fisher were imprisoned in the O. 5. Tower; Fisher, who had been made Cardinal by the Pope, was

1535. executed as a traitor. Pope Paul III. launched the anathemas of the Church against the King of England, freed the English from their oath of allegiance, &c. Thomas Cromwell, nominated visitor of the convents, brought to light most outrageous irregularities, debauchery, imposture, O. 6. &c. The convents were for the most part suppressed. All

1536. those which had not more than two hundred pounds revenue were suppressed by Act of Parliament, and the Crown acquired thirty-two thousand pounds revenue and more than two hundred thousand pounds accruing from furnish- O. 7. ings. The Bible was translated into English. At the request of O. 8. the clergy, Parliament was dissolved. It had lasted six years. O. 9.

P. 1. Meanwhile the king's passion for Anne Boleyn diminished daily, while Jane Seymour made every day fresh impressions. The mishap which occurred to the queen, who was delivered
P. 2. of a dead child, embittered the king. Lady Rocheford and the Duke of Norfolk accused Anne of incest. All the courtiers abandoned the queen; Cranmer alone undertook to defend her,
P. 3. but the Duke of Norfolk being seneschal in this matter, her
P. 4. marriage was declared null and void, and she was condemned to be burnt with her brother, and underwent her doom in public.
P. 5. The next day Henry married Lady Jane Seymour.
P. 6.
Q. 1. Fox, Bishop of Hereford, was an advocate of the Reformation. Parliament declared that the people should no longer believe in
Q. 2. Purgatory, nor in the Pope, but should continue to believe in
Q. 3. the Real Presence in the Eucharist, and in auricular confession, Nevertheless, the suppression of so many monasteries excited the
Q. 4. greatest commotion among the people.
R. 1. The queen gave birth to a prince named Edward, and died two days afterwards. Edward was made Prince of
R. 2. Wales, and his uncle Earl of Hertford. 1537.
S. 1. All the monasteries were dissolved, the shrine of St. Thomas
S. 2. of Canterbury destroyed, the treasures carried off,
S. 3. and the office for his feast-day struck out of the Prayer- 1538.
S. 4. Book. In the midst of all this a man called John Nicholson was burnt as a Protestant.

The Law of the Six Articles, called the Bloody Statute, belongs to the Parliament of this year. It condemned to death every man who permitted the marriage of priests, who did not believe in the Real Presence, &c. &c. &c. 1539.
T. 1. Cranmer opposed the Bill for three days, but it passed in spite
T 2. of him. The number of monasteries abolished in England and Wales amounted to six hundred and forty-five: two thousand three hundred and seventy-four chantries and free chapels, a hundred and ten hospitals, &c. &c. The revenues were one hundred and sixty-one thousand one hundred pounds sterling.

This year the king married Anne of Cleves. Cromwell was made Earl of Essex. The Order of St. John of Jerusalem was U. 1. U. 2. U. 3.

1540. suppressed. Their property was confiscated to the king's use. Cromwell, being attainted, was arrested. U. 4.

The king was dissatisfied with him on account of his marriage, for which Cromwell had been mainly responsible. He was condemned without a hearing. He died a victim to the arbitrary authority which he had consistently supported. He was of obscure birth. He had been Wolsey's servant. U. 5. U. 6. U. 7.

The king was now in love with Catherine Howard, and consequently desired the annulling of his marriage, and this was approved by the two Houses of Parliament. Catherine Howard was declared queen. V. 1. V. 2.

Many persons were executed, some for having declaimed against the king's supremacy, others for having supported Lutheranism. W. 1

The queen did not long enjoy her good fortune. Accused X. 1.

1542. of incest, she was condemned in both Houses and perished on the scaffold. Y. 1.

1543. Ireland became a kingdom. Y. 2.

The king marries his sixth wife, Catherine Parr, widow of Lord Latimer. She was attached to the Reformation. Z. 1.

This year's Act of Parliament named the order of succession. Prince Edward was the first, Mary and her posterity, then Aa. 1

1544. Elizabeth and hers. A strange Act of this Parliament freed the king from paying the debts he owed to private individuals, and ordered that those who had received instalments should be obliged to give them back. Aa. 2.

Anne Askew was burnt on account of her religion. The Ab. 1.

1546. queen nearly shared her fate. The infuriated Gardiner, after having tried to ruin Cranmer, wished to ruin the queen, and ruined himself. He was exiled. Ab. 2.

1547. At last the king himself died this year. Ac. 1.

EDWARD VI

A. 1.[1] EDWARD, aged ten, succeeded. The Earl of Hertford, the king's
A. 2. uncle, was declared Protector. He was created Duke
of Somerset. *Edward VI.*,

B. 1. Battle near Preston Pans; eight thousand Scots 1547.
B. 2. remained on the field. It was the Battle of Pinkiecleugh or
B. 3. Musselburgh. The Scots lost fourteen thousand men, and the
B. 4. English lost only fifty (knights); three thousand ecclesiastics were mercilessly massacred. They formed a special Corps in the Scotch army.

C. 1. This year a decision of Parliament accorded to every proclamation emanating from the king the same force as an Act of Parliament. The Statute of Six 1547.
C. 2. Articles was abolished, and the Reformation legalised. The king
C. 3. was on its side.

A decision of the Parliament of this year permitted priests to
D. 1. marry. The Liturgy was confirmed.

E. 1. Parliament condemned the Admiral, the Regent's 1548.
brother, who was beheaded. The Regency Council, 1549.
dissatisfied with the Protector (the lords being incensed by his too great justice towards the people, the papists by his zeal and by his fervour for the Reformation) determined to destroy him, and, by order of the Council, he was sent to the Tower. The
E. 2. Earl of Warwick, later Duke of Northumberland, was made Protector in his stead.

F. 1. The Earl of Hertford, Duke of Somerset, the regent of the

[1] These notes will be found on pp. 228–233.

kingdom at the commencement of the reign, was condemned and lost his head on the scaffold. Thus ended this upright man. F. 2.

1551.

The king died, aged sixteen. He was very learned. Greek, Latin, French, Italian, Spanish were the languages he spoke. G. 1. G. 2.

He was musician, philosopher, logician, and theologian. The king being dead, the Protector wished to place Lady Jane Grey on the throne. She was in fact crowned, but his measures failed, and Mary gained the day. G. 3. G. 4. G. 5.

1553.

MARY

A. 1.[1] THIS is the first queen who reigned in England.

B. 1. The Duke of Northumberland was the first victim sacrificed. All his partisans likewise perished on the scaffold. *Mary.*
Mary was superstitious to excess, and wished to re-
B. 2. establish the Romish faith. Bishop Gardiner and 1553.
Bonner the chaplain took the chief part in these persecutions.

C. Mary was daughter of Catherine of Aragon. Parliament, wholly composed of Roman Catholics, abolished all Edward's laws, and the Catholic religion was re-established.

D. 1. Philip, King of Spain, married Mary. The conditions of
D. 2. the marriage contract were very numerous.

E. Lady Jane Grey and her husband perished. In 1554.
her death she showed great fortitude.

F. 1. The Wyatt conspiracy furnished Mary with a double pretext
F. 2. for satisfying her sanguinary temperament.

G. Of sixteen thousand clergy, two-thirds lost their livings because they were married.

H. 1. England was re-united to the Pope by Cardinal Pole. Rogers
H. 2. and Hooper laid down their lives for their faith. So did the aged
H. 3. Latimer, Ridley, and Cranmer—the virtuous Cranmer,
H. 4. Archbishop of Canterbury. A woman at the stake, 1555.
H. 5. affected by the heat of the fire, gave birth to a child, which the Judge ordered should be thrown into the flames. Forty-five persons perished this year in the cause of religion. The queen
H. 6. wished to re-establish the religious houses, but Parliament opposed this.

[1] These notes will be found on pp. 234–238.

This year Gardiner died. I. 1.

This year Mary was busied in establishing the Inquisition in England. A Commission, composed of twenty-one J. 1.
1557. judges, was ordered to try heretics, and commenced its operations. They condemned seventy-nine heretics.

Calais was taken from the English by Guise. K. 1.

It is computed that Mary caused two hundred
1558 and eighty-four victims to be burnt. L. 1.

This year the queen died, aged forty-three years, having M. 1. reigned five.

ELIZABETH

A. 1 1 ELIZABETH, having come to the throne, meditated the re-establish-
A. 2. ment of the Reformation. In a short time she succeeded, and
A. 3.
A. 4. without bloodshed. Parliament passed an Act which put religion on the same footing as in Edward's reign. Of nine thousand
A. 5. four hundred clergy there were only fourteen bishops, twelve archdeacons, fifteen heads of colleges, fifty canons, and eighty priests who gave up their benefices rather than conform.

B. 1. Parliament pronounced the penalties of Præmunire against all parties to be at the king's disposal or that of the reigning queen.

C. 1. The Turkey Company was reconstituted in virtue of a treaty made with Amurat.

D. 1. Cardinal Allen published a treatise in which he 1579.
D. 2. maintained that not only was it allowable to kill a 1581.
heretic, but that such a deed was even meritorious. *Walsingham, Secretary of State.*
D. 3 This dictum engendered all the conspiracies which
D. 4. were formed against the Queen's life.

E. 1. Mary Stuart, widow of Francis II., Queen of Scotland and
E 2. heiress of England, lost her head on the scaffold. She took the
E. 3.
E. 4. side of the Christian religion. This was the chief
E. 5. reason for her death. The pretext was complicity 1587.
in the Babington Conspiracy. She had been Elizabeth's prisoner eighteen years.

F. 1. Philip sent the Fleet called The Invincible to attempt the
F. 2.
F. 3. invasion of England. It was composed of a hundred and fifty
F. 4. vessels. One hundred were taken by the English. Two

[1] These notes will be found on pp. 239–253.

1587. Marie Accard. veuve françois 2. reine d'Ecosse héritière de l'angleterre; perdit sa tête sur un echafaud. elle étoit partisante de la Religion chrétienne ce fut la principale raison de sa mort. le prétexte fut d'avoir trempé dans la conjuration de Bibiglione. elle étoit prisonnière d'Elisabeth depuis 18 ans.

philippe envoya la flotte dite l'invincible pour tenter une expédition en angleterre - elle étoit composée de 130 vaisseaux. 100 furent pris par les anglois 25000 périrent et philippe perdit plus de 36,000,000 ft. le duc de Medina Sidonia commandoit les espagnoles, drake vice amiral anglois eut le principal honneur de la défaite

1596. le f. d'Essex et howard. prirent Cadix après avoir battu les Espagnoles et avoir brulé leur vaisseau amiral. la ville paya 500 000 ducats de rançon

Reduced Fac-simile of a page of Napoleon's Note Book.

thousand five hundred men perished, and Philip lost more than thirty-six million livres. The Duke of Medina Sidonia commanded the Spaniards. Drake, the English Vice-Admiral, had the chief honour of the defeat. F. 5.

1596. The Earl of Essex and Howard took Cadiz, after having beaten the Spaniards and burnt the Admiral's ship. The town paid a ransom of five hundred thousand ducats. G. 1 G. 2.

1602. The Earl of Essex, the Queen's favourite, perished on the scaffold. H. 1.

1603. Death of the Queen, aged seventy. I. 1.

JAMES I

A. 1.[1] JAMES was a son of Mary and, from the time of her detention,
A. 2. reigned in Scotland until the death of Queen Elizabeth called
A. 3. him to the throne of England. The Privy Council
A. 4. proclaimed him immediately. This prince had formed
an extravagant idea of the prerogatives of the crown;
A. 5. he showed it by having a robber hanged without any form of
A. 6. trial. James was equally lavish of honours and money. On his
A. 7. way to London he conferred knighthood on two hundred persons,
and did the same to an equal number a few days after his arrival.
A. 8. At that time London had only two hundred thousand inhabitants.

House of Stuart.
JAMES I.
1603.

B. 1. Against the opening of Parliament this year, the Papists
B. 2. organised a conspiracy to blow up the House of Lords while the Royal Family were there.

1605.

C. 1. Bancroft, Archbishop of Canterbury, persecuted the Puritans
C. 2. with so much vigour that they began to take refuge in Virginia.

1608.

D. 1. Cowell, the clergyman, published a work in which he declared that the king was not bound by the country's laws, nor by his
D. 2. Coronation oath. Dr. Blackwood, author of the second (treatise), took as his text that the conquest of England by William had caused the loss of the people's liberty.

1609.

E. 1. This prince had an infatuation for hunting. He called the
E. 2. art of governing the art of kings, and, in a speech, he begged
E. 3. the Commons not to interfere therein. This year Parliament was dissolved. It had lasted seven years.

1610.

F. 1. A young page won the king's heart by his good looks, and he

[1] These notes will be found on pp. 254–267.

was made Viscount Rochester, Grand Treasurer of Scotland, and Knight of the Garter.

Barrow boasts of the monarch's impartiality because he caused G. 1.
Lord Sanquir, a Scottish gentleman, to be executed for killing a G. 2.
fencing-master. G. 3.

Henry, Prince of Wales, died this year. England had H. 1.
1612. entertained the greatest hopes of this young prince.
Yet his father did not wish that mourning should be H. 2.
worn for him.

1613. Cecil, Earl of Salisbury, died this year. He was I. 1.
Grand Treasurer. I. 2.

Rochester was made Earl of Somerset, and married the J. 1.
Countess of Essex, after having her marriage with her husband J. 2.
annulled.

This year's Parliament pointed out to the king the abuses K. 1.
which had been introduced into his government, and was im- K. 2.
1614. mediately dissolved. The wars of the Houses of York and Lancaster had kept the whole nation in arms for the space of twenty-four years. The blood which flooded this fair realm, the ferocity which always accompanies civil wars, appeared to stifle English patriotism. They fought only for the choice of a master. This master became necessarily all-powerful. Parliament, however, existed still, but was merely the minister of the king's commands. Theological disputes supervened; Henry VIII., Edward, Mary, Elizabeth, in turn favoured the Anglican religion or Roman Catholicism. Favours were therefore accorded to those who encouraged the religion of the reigning prince; and the nation, irresolute and divided into a multitude of sects, had no public opinion which could uphold patriots, each of whom, ranged under some special sect, had every other sect as his enemy. There could therefore be no question of patriotism. Thus we see that Parliament, under these princes, was only the minister of royal authority, fluctuating always according to the caprice of princes. Nevertheless it clung to its

privileges, and never ceased to be the Legislative Body of a State in which the Court had the chief weight. Under these circumstances occurred the reign of James I., who, having unheard-of ideas as to his own authority, chose to despise that of Parliament. The high opinion this prince had of his own merit, and especially
K. 3. the great need he had of money, made him ridiculous. Parlia-
K. 4. ment henceforward regained its ascendency, and the royal authority once more began to lose part of its strength.

L. 1. The king hated the English Laws, and would have liked to establish those of Rome. When he went to Cam- 1614.
bridge the undergraduates acted a comedy called
L. 2. Ignoramus, in which they turned into ridicule the English jurists.

M. 1. The Earl of Somerset had amassed in five years two hundred thousand pounds, and had an income of eighteen thousand pounds. This year he fell into disgrace, and was 1616.
supplanted by the favourite Villiers, afterwards Duke of Buckingham, who was made Constable of Windsor, Lord High Admiral of England, Grand Master of Westminster, Master of the Horse, Grand Master of Woods and Forests, and Warden of the Cinque Ports.

N. 1. Sir Walter Raleigh, celebrated historian, skilful 1617.
N. 2. sailor, great traveller.

O. 1. Bacon, celebrated for his writings, was Chancellor of England.
O. 2. Found guilty of some malpractice, he was declared 1621.
unfit to sit in the House of Lords, condemned to a fine of forty thousand pounds, and to remain a prisoner in the Tower. The king pardoned him.

P. 1. It was in the Parliament of this year that two parties in the making became very distinctly manifest; that of the nation and
P. 2. that of the court. They began to follow out a regulated plan of opposition. This Parliament had very great discussions with the king concerning the marriage, projected by James, of the Prince
P. 3. of Wales with a Spanish princess. The Commons, on the
P. 4. contrary, demanded war with that nation, and the persecution of

the Papists. The king was irritated by these remonstrances, and enjoined Parliament not to interfere in affairs of government but P. 5.
to accord him a subsidy. The Commons' answer was a very strong petition, to which the king replied that matters of government were beyond their province, and that if they should begin to tamper with the rights of the Crown he would take away their privileges, which they only held from his ancestors. Parliament, by way of reply, protested that their privileges dated from time immemorial. The king sent for the Registers of the House, and P. 6.
declared Parliament dissolved.

Parliament accorded three subsidies to the king, who Q.
1624. promised that they should be managed by Parliamentary Commissioners.

The Earl of Middlesex, Lord Treasurer, was condemned R. 1.
by Parliament to pay fifty thousand pounds. This year died
1624. James I. in the fifty-ninth year of his age. This R. 2.
prince affected authorship; he wrote Basilicon Doron, R. 3.
a work concerning wizards, and a treatise to prove that the Pope is Anti-Christ.

CHARLES I

A. 1.[1] A. 2. A. 3, 4. CHARLES, after having negotiated an alliance with the Infanta of Spain, married Henrietta of France.

B. 1. A king's chaplain was summoned to the bar of the House for having written a work called "An Appeal to Cæsar," which favoured Catholicism. Parliament *Charles I.* 1625.

B. 2. was dissolved because it appeared inclined to concern itself
B. 3. with the nation's grievances. The king, not having been
B. 4. able to obtain subsidies, raised money in the form of a loan.

B. 5. This year a Parliament was convoked. The moment it was assembled, it formed three Committees; one to look carefully into State secrets, the second to seek remedies for these grievances, and a third to examine religious affairs. 1626.

C. 1. The illustrious Pym presided over the last.

D. 1. Parliament now began the impeachment of the Duke of Buckingham, the favourite of James, and now Charles's chief Minister. The king sent messengers to stop the inquiry, but Parliament ignored them.

The king called the Commons to the bar of the House of Lords, and expressed to them his displeasure. Among other

F. 1. things he told them that he thought it more honour for a prince to be subdued by a foreign foe than to become despised by his own subjects. He also described their deliberations as irregular and presumptuous, whereupon the Commons pointed out to him that Parliament was within its rights in taking cognisance of the nation's grievances.

F. 1. The Earl of Bristol was confined to his own house. He left

[1] These notes will be found on pp. 268–309.

it at the request of the Peers. The king wrote to him not to appear at the bar of the House, but he sent the letter to the Peers, which so irritated the king that he had him accused of bad conduct during his Spanish embassy. The earl, however, so justified himself as to leave anything but a good impression respecting the king, his accuser. The earl attacked the Duke of F. 2.
Buckingham, whom the Commons arraigned and sent to the Tower. The king said that he would testify to the duke's innocence.

Yet the king, needing money, established a commission to compound with the Papists, dispensing with the penal laws G. 1.
against them, in spite of the positive laws of the country. He demanded a loan of a hundred thousand pounds sterling from the City of London, which refused it. He imposed a tax on sea-ports. He exacted the dues of tonnage and poundage on all G. 2.
imports and exports, without any authorisation by Parliament—a manifest violation of the nation's rights. He opened a loan, and as it was not covered, he commanded all the people necessary for its success to remain under arrest at their own homes until they had subscribed—a violation of the constitutional laws and of the citizens' liberties. Lord Crewe, Chief Justiciar, was deprived of his office for his disapproval of the monarch's conduct. Soldiers were billeted in the houses of those who delayed the payment G. 3.
of their share of the arbitrary tax.

Abbot, Archbishop of Canterbury, was suspended, and confined to his country-seat for having refused his approval to a H. 1.
priest's sermon, wherein it was said that subjects H. 2.
1627. deserved punishment when they refused to obey the orders of their sovereign, even if these orders should be contrary to the laws of God, of nature, or of the nation. Manwaring declared that the king was not obliged to observe the laws of the kingdom, but that it was the bounden duty of subjects to obey him unreservedly under penalty of everlasting damnation. He was condemned by Parliament to a fine

H. 3. of a thousand pounds, and to be imprisoned, &c. Yet the king, a short time after, made him a bishop.

I. 1. The king, needing money, was compelled to assemble a new
I. 2. Parliament, but his harangue made no impression. Parliament
I. 3. reviewed the national grievances. Sir Francis Seymour, Sir Thomas Wentworth, afterwards Earl of 1628.
I. 4. Strafford, Sir Edward Coke, were those who distinguished themselves most by their freedom of speech. The Prohibitions were
I. 5. forthwith passed into law, or rather were renewed, against arrest-
I. 6. ing a citizen without allowing him to enjoy the laws of *Habeas Corpus;* loans, taxes, benevolences, &c. &c., were declared contrary
I. 7. to the fundamental laws. The Bill of Liberty, by which the king
I. 8. engaged never to act like this again, was passed in confirmation of the privileges of the people.

J. 1. The Commons discovered at this time an order of the king
J. 2. to raise a body of cavalry in Germany to be transported into England. This rekindled their animosity against Buckingham. They instituted an impeachment against him, accused him of having instigated the king to raise the tax of tonnage, weights, and measures, without the consent of Parliament, but Parliament was prorogued to the month of October.

K. 1. Weston, a Catholic, was nominated Lord High Treasurer.
K. 2. Laud was promoted to the See of London. Montague, author
K. 3. of the "Appeal to Cæsar," was made Bishop of Chichester.

L. 1. The Duke of Buckingham was assassinated after having had a conversation with the Prince of Soubise.

Parliament brought an action against the Court of Exchequer for having executed the king's orders relative to the collecting of the Tonnage dues. It protested that all those who attempted to put into execution the tax of Tonnage were enemies to the State and traitors to English liberty. The king profited by these
M. 1. moments of temper to dissolve it. The chief members of the
M. 2. Commons were prosecuted as culprits. Nine were summoned to the King's Bench; four appeared there and were sent to the

Tower for having refused to say what had passed in the House. Alderman Chambers was prosecuted for having said that merchants were more oppressed in England than in Turkey. The imprisoned members invoked in vain the privilege of the law of *Habeas Corpus*. They were detained seven months. The king commanded that the tonnage and poundage dues should be collected with the greatest rigour. The Customs officers were instructed to enter private houses, to force open warehouses and counting-houses. Thus every conceivable act of oppression was committed. M. 3. M. 4. M. 5. M. 6.

1631. Charles, to obtain money, conferred knighthood on every man who possessed an income of forty pounds sterling, and those who refused this honour were condemned to very heavy fines. Charles oppressed his subjects in every way. N. 1. N. 2. N. 3.

1632. The jurisdiction which the king gave to the Northern Court was contrary to the fundamental laws of the kingdom. Of fifty-eight articles of secret jurisdiction, Lord Clarendon said that there was not one which did not contradict the Constitution. O. 1. O. 2.

For eleven years Charles governed the nation without a Parliament and contrary to the laws. It would have been all over with the English Constitution and its liberties had not, most fortunately in this age, the Reformed religion enlightened men's minds and inspired a hatred of despotism. The king consulted the queen about everything, and she was a princess wholly attached to her own religion, and violent. P. 1. P. 2. P. 3.

1633. A man called Parr was presented to the king. He enjoyed good health, although a hundred and fifty-two years old. Q. 1.

A Puritan, who had published a work against dances, was treated by the king with the utmost barbarity. R. 1.

John Hampden refused to pay Ship Money; he was summoned before the Court of Exchequer and condemned. S. 1. S. 2.

T. 1. The king wished to establish the Anglican liturgy in Scotland. This occasioned riots, and the king ended by yielding. The Assembly at Glasgow displayed the 1637.
T. 2. banner of revolt, and the Presbyterians having taken up arms to
T. 3. maintain their religion, civil war was kindled.

U. 1. Charles, having exhausted all lesser means to obtain money,
U. 2. found himself forced to call a Parliament. The illustrious Pym
U. 3. made an eloquent speech concerning the king's ex-
U. 4. actions, but Charles, seeing that things were taking 1640.
U. 5. a bad turn, dissolved Parliament. During this period the Pope's
U. 6. agent was received in his public capacity.
U. 7.

V. The town of London presented a petition concerning works on Popery, and the Court's monopoly.

W. 1. The first Act of Parliament was to quash the sentences against
W. 2. many Puritan authors whom the King's Council had condemned. *Pym.*

X. 1. The Earl of Strafford was sent to the Tower, as well as Laud, Archbishop of Canterbury. The Lord Keeper saved himself
X. 2. by flight to Holland. All the courtiers, terrified at the rigour of
X. 3. Parliament, fled, and the king found himself alone. It was ordained that the trial of Hampden should be blotted out.

Two factions preponderated by their numbers—the Puritans and the Republicans. These two parties, inimical to the bishops, resolved to exclude the latter from their right of voting in the House of Peers. Committees were appointed to examine the
Y. 1. jurisdiction and administrative powers of the two Courts of High Commission. Petitions were presented against Wren,
Y. 2. Bishop of Norwich, who, by his innovations, had forced many families to seek refuge in New England.

Z. 1. The Bill to exclude the clergy from all secular employment
Z. 2. passed the House of Commons. Another Bill to suppress bishops,
Z. 3. archdeacons, &c. &c., also passed at the same time. The Earl
Z. 4. of Rothes and Lord Loudon, Scotch deputies, had far the most influence in all these deliberations.

The Earl of Strafford had been the king's chief counsellor in all his affairs. In vain the king sought to obtain his pardon. Aa. 1.

1641. *Lord Strafford.* The House, seeing that the usual procedure would be too long, sent up a Bill of Attainder, which was approved by the Peers. Another Bill passed at the same time to the effect that Parliament could not be prorogued without the consent of the two Chambers. The king, fearing the fury of the people, signed the Bill, and the earl was executed on Tower Green. Pym was elected President of the Committee nominated to sit during the Parliamentary vacations. Aa. 2.

1642. The Earl of Essex, Lords Say and Kimbolton, Pym, Hampden, St. John, Hazlerigg, Vane, and Holles were the members who governed the two Houses. Ab. 1.

The Irish Catholics, incited by their priests and by Cardinal Richelieu, took up arms, massacred the English Protestants, and killed more than forty thousand of them. The Irish army was commanded by Lord Gormanstone; it was called the Queen's Army. Macguire and O'More were the chiefs of this conspiracy. Ac. 1. Ac. 2.

Parliament, fearing the king's resentment if ever he should be at the head of an army, itself nominated the officers. Ad. 1.

The House of Commons published an appeal to the people against the king's administration. Parliament remained sitting till three o'clock in the morning. The London populace shouted furiously, "No bishops! no bishops!" All London was in the greatest ferment. Mr. Pym, besought to appease the tumult, said, "God forbid that I should oppose the people's just demands." Both parties took up arms. The apprentices and the people in general listened only to their pastors; the students had appeared in a body to defend the bishops and the king. Twelve bishops were sent to the Tower. Ae. 1. Ae. 2. Ae. 3. Ae. 4.

Pym. The king had the imprudence to accuse Kimbolton, Danzil Hollis, Arthur Hazlerigg, John Pym, John Hampden, and William Stroud of high treason, and the following day the king came to the House of Commons with Af. 1. Af. 2. Af. 3. Af. 4. Af. 5. Af. 6.

Af. 7. armed men. The five members immediately escaped. The king
Af. 8. demanded from the Speaker where they were. The latter
Af. 9. replied that, in the position he occupied, he had eyes to see and
Af. 10. ears to hear only as the House directed. When the king retired
Af. 11. the members cried : "Privilege ! Privilege !" The next day the king sent a messenger to make excuses for his conduct and to offer a general pardon. Sir Edward Herbert, Solicitor-General, was condemned for having violated the privileges of the Commons
Af. 12. by presenting the counts of indictment. His sentence declared him incapable of filling any position, and condemned him to consider himself under arrest.

Ag. 1. Lord Digby, the king's adviser, being ordered to return to London, left the kingdom.

Ah. 1. The lieutenant of the Tower was ordered to present himself at the bar of the House to justify his conduct. He excused himself on the ground that the king had ordered him not to leave his garrison.

The Commons caused themselves to be accompanied by two bands of London militia to keep them safe from any further
Ai. 1. attempts on the part of the king. They ordered the commanders of the various ports not to surrender their towns save on a com-
Ai. 2. mission emanating from the king and the two Houses. They at the same time prohibited the lieutenant of the Tower from disposing of any cannon, or any munitions of war. They ordered the sheriffs of London to place troops to blockade the Tower.
Ai. 3. The king took refuge at Windsor. The king having summoned the Earls of Essex and Holland, the Peers forbade their absenting themselves from Parliament.

Aj. 1. The municipality of London complained of the bad turn which the affairs of the kingdom were taking.

Ak. 1. Charles, bereft of his authority, deprived of the love of his
Ak. 2. subjects, had completely fallen from his high estate. The Houses
Ak. 3. protested that if the king raised troops without their consent, they would interpret his conduct as contrary to the interests of the people.

The king appeared before Hull with three hundred cavalry, but the governor, having refused to allow his entrance with so many armed men, was declared a traitor. Al. 1.

The Earl of Warwick was declared by Parliament Admiral of the Fleet. Am. 1. Am. 2.

The nation was divided between the king and the two Houses. The old nobility and the adherents of the dynasty, the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, &c., were on the king's side. The Republicans and the Nonconformist Protestants were on the other side. The Earls of Newcastle, Hertford, Lindsey, Jacob Astley, Prince Rupert, J. Byron, and Wilmot. An. 1. An. 2. An. 3. An. 4. An. 5. An. 6.

The king seized several places, and posted up a declaration which accused the two Houses of high-treason. Ao. 1.

Battle of Keynton. The Earl of Essex had slightly the advantage. Ap. 1. Ap. 2.

While pourparlers for an accommodation were pending, the king surprised several strongholds. This entirely broke off all further negotiations. Aq. 1.

The Earl of Essex, Lord Fairfax, the Earl of Stamford, the Earl of Manchester. Ar. 1. Ar. 2. Ar. 3.

1643. The patriots of Scotland and England were united against the Royalists, the Papists, and the bishops. As. 1.

The king convened a Parliament at Oxford, but did not succeed in ousting the existing one which had caused the general conflagration. At. 1.

This year, memorable for the continuation of the war, became specially memorable by the death of the illustrious John Pym, who was the soul of all the Parliament's deliberations. Au. 1. Au. 2. Au. 3. Au. 4.

Battle of Marston Moor. The Earl of Manchester, Lord Fairfax, Oliver Cromwell, Earl Leven, commanded the Parliamentarians. The Royalists were beaten by the valour and skill of Oliver Cromwell. Battle of Alresford. Waller beats the Royalists. The king in person beaten at Newbury. Av. 1. Av. 2.

Aw. 1. Laud, Archbishop of Canterbury, executed by means of a Bill of Attainder.

Ax. 1. The Independents wished for no form of Church Government. They wished that every man should be able to teach or
Ax. 2. explain the Gospel according to the inspiration which he received from God. They wished, moreover, to establish democracy. Vane, Cromwell, Tate, Hazlerigg were chiefs of this party.

Ay. 1. A little later and, on the accusation of the Earl of Manchester, Cromwell himself was about to be arrested. Meanwhile, the
Ay. 2. Independents proposed to make changes in the militia. They ended by inviting the members of the House of Commons to
Ay. 3. resign office, but the Peers refused to consent thereto. The new plan of the militia was voted, and the command given to Sir Thomas Fairfax, who was given permission to choose what officers he would. He excluded all members of Parliament. Essex, Manchester, and Denbigh sent in their resignations. Fairfax was governed by Cromwell. The army was filled with Independents, who were at the same time preachers and officers.

Az. 1. Battle of Naseby. The king was beaten by Cromwell, who
Az. 2.
Az. 3. made more than five thousand prisoners. Among the king's
Az. 4. baggage were found his letters. Charles, a fugitive,
Az. 5.
Az. 6. tried first to gain Scotland, then to return to Oxford. 1645.
At last, his armies cut in pieces, without resource, he put himself
Az. 7. into the hands of the Scots and made himself known to General
Az. 8. Leven. The king surrendered all places which his partisans still held. Montrose abandoned Scotland and retired to the Continent. Ormonde evacuated Ireland.

Ba. 1. The Scots gave him up to the Parliamentarians. The army was at this time becoming a spent force. This did not play
Ba. 2. Cromwell's game. Consequently he stirred up fire-
brands, and the army nominated deputies to deal 1647.
Ba. 3. with its own interests. This Council of War consisted of soldiers, officers, &c. The army formed a kind of republic, in which the meanest soldier had as much power as his colonel.

Cromwell, Skippon, Ireton, Fleetwood were the soul of all these intrigues. They seized the king's person and signed a Convention which they called *The Engagement*. After this they advanced on St. Albans. Ba. 4.

The army now insisted that Parliament should be purged of all members who had been unlawfully chosen, and that accounts should be rendered of public monies entrusted to it. It was asserted that Parliament had raised by taxes more than thirty millions sterling within five years. Bb. 1.

The army brought an action against eleven members who were chiefs of the Presbyterian party. Parliament was compelled to agree to everything. Meanwhile, the Independents made the king believe that they wished to put him back on the throne.

Yet the council of the Commons at London, together with a great number of Parliamentarians, united to oppose the army. All the Independents fled from the House, and the Presbyterians raised troops. Waller, Massey, and Poyntz commanded them. On this news the army set out to march on London. On August 6th, Fairfax, accompanied by all the Independent members of Parliament, and with an escort, reached Westminster. Fairfax was declared Governor of the Tower. The Independents, having thus triumphed, changed their attitude towards the king. The latter in alarm tried to escape, but not finding a ship, he retired into the Isle of Wight, where Hammond, who was Cromwell's friend, arrested him. Bc. 1. Meanwhile the Presbyterians of both kingdoms were plotting reconciliation with the king and confusion to the Independents; but they did not succeed, and Parliament enacted that henceforward no address or message should be sent to the king. Bc. 2. Yet all were plotting the fall of Cromwell and his party. Bc. 3. The Scots commanded the levying of forty thousand men; Ireland promised troops to the Duke of Ormonde; the Cavaliers were still numerous; three colonels declared for the king; part of the London populace, and of the fleet, revolted to the king's side. Bc. 4. The Prince of Wales embarked

in the fleet; Earl Holland declared openly for the king, as well as the Duke of Buckingham, and Lords Villiers and Peterborough.

Cromwell marched against the Welsh and the three revolted regiments, and defeated them, then marched immediately to
Bd. 1. Scotland. Part of Hamilton's troops were defeated at Preston; he was afterwards routed completely, and Cromwell entered Edinburgh. He immediately returned to England, leaving Lambert in Scotland.

Nevertheless, Parliament declared it necessary to restore the king, and three Bills were brought forward—for the Militia, for
Be. 1. the Presbyterian worship, and for revoking the Writings against
Be. 2. Parliament—but intrigues retarded their passing, and meanwhile the Scots were defeated.

A Committee, however, was sent to Charles to arrange
Bf. 1. matters, but he entirely refused to sign the Bill of Proscription
Bf. 2. against his dearest friends. The army, on the other hand, pre-
Bf. 3. sented their request that the king should be brought to justice, as author of all the bloodshed that had taken place, and that the Princes of Wales and York should be declared traitors to their country and banished for ever, that no king might be henceforward recognised unless he was elected.

Bg. 1. The king, by the general's orders, was brought from the Isle
Bg. 2. of Wight to Hurst Castle. Guards were placed at the palace
Bg. 3. gates, and ninety Presbyterians were excluded from the House. When Cromwell was about to take his seat, he was thanked for the services he had rendered. Thereupon the king was taken to
Bg. 4. Windsor. Colonel Harrison escorted him. Parliament formed a committee to formulate the articles of *December 28th.* accusation against the king. The Commons instituted a High Court of Justice, which they invested with power to judge Charles Stuart for having formed the detestable plan of overturning the fundamental laws and the liberties of the nation; for having made furious and cruel war against his own Parliament—a war which had ruined commerce, and ravaged the country.

Thomas, Lord Fairfax, Oliver Cromwell, Henry Ireton, Sir Hardress Waller, Philip Skippon, and others, a hundred and forty-five in all, were made commissioners of the trial and judges. The House of Lords refused to sign the order to arraign the king. Bradshaw was chosen President of the High Court of Justice. Bh. 1. Bh. 2.

It was declared by vote that the sovereign power was first vested in the people; that the authority of the nation was in the hands of the Commons of England assembled in Parliament as the people's representatives; that everything which was declared law by the Commons needed the consent of neither king nor peers. Coke was made Solicitor-General. On the 27th January the High Court sat in Westminster Hall, and the people cried: "Justice! Justice! Execution!" At this sitting the king was condemned to have his head cut off as a tyrant, a traitor, a monster and a public enemy. Bi. 1. Bi. 2.

1648. This monarch was executed on January 30th in the park at Whitehall. Bj. 1. Bj. 2. Bj. 3.

THE REPUBLIC

After the king's death, it was declared that the State would
A. 1.[1] be governed as a Republic by the People's representatives,
A. 2.
A. 3. assembled in the House of Commons. The Great Seal gave a representation of the House of Commons with the inscription: "The Great Seal of England. In the First Year of Freedom
A. 4. by God's blessing restored 1648." The Seal was confided to
A. 5. a certain number of persons who were named Preservers of Liberty.

B. 1. Cromwell defeated Ormonde in Ireland.

C. 1. He defeated the Scots army, taking more than 1649.
C. 2. eight thousand men prisoners.

D. 1. He defeated Charles II. at Worcester, making 1650.
D. 2.
D. 3. more than eight thousand men prisoners. 1651.
D. 4. Monk found at Stirling the Scottish archives, and sent them
E. 1. to London, where they have been kept ever since.

Scotch representatives joined the English Parliament and
F. 1. Royalty was abolished in Scotland. Justice was impartially
F. 2. rendered. The inhabitants devoted themselves to the arts, and were happier than their ancestors 1651.
F. 3. had been. Admiral Blake pursued Prince Rupert. Ireton
F. 4.
F. 5. completed the subjection of Ireland. Ireton died. The Re-
F. 6. public became respected, and all the European Powers sought
F. 7.
F. 8. its alliance.

G. 1. The Dutch, who had given refuge to the Prince, and who
G. 2. had committed many hostile acts, were the first on whom war was declared.

[1] These notes will be found on pp. 310–326.

Tromp with forty ships engaged with Blake, who had only twenty-six plus eight. The former was beaten. Blake fought another battle with Ruyter, and won the victory. He took the Admiral's ship. Tromp with seventy ships defeated Blake off the Goodwins. Blake and Monk engaged with Ruyter. The two former had eighty ships, the latter sixty. The fight lasted three days. The Dutch were beaten, but made an honourable retreat ; yet the extraordinary revolution which Cromwell effected at this time suspended further success. He drove Parliament out of the House. Cromwell made use of the army to destroy the national government. H. 1. H. 2. 1652. H. 3. H. 4. H. 5. H. 6. H. 7. H. 8.

The Independents were composed of two sects, one being that of the Millenarians, who declared that all magisterial distinctions should be abolished and that it was necessary to govern by grace. They awaited the second coming of Jesus Christ, and hoped that then the Saints would govern the earth. The party of the Deists wished for perfect liberty, both as to religion and government. Cromwell supported the Millenarians. I. 1. I. 2. I. 3. I. 4.

He nominated a hundred and forty persons to govern, with the title of a Parliament. J. 1. J. 2.

Tromp with a hundred ships attacks Monk, Deane, Penn, and Lawson. The victory was for a long time doubtful. The Dutch retired. Some time after, the Dutch fought near the Texel two other battles of which the success was doubtful. Tromp had resolved to conquer or die. Some days later he fought again, but was killed by a musket-ball. Vice-Admiral Witt gave the signal of retreat, after having lost thirty vessels. K. 1. K. 2. K. 3.

The policy of Cromwell had been to establish a contemptible Parliament. He was successful, and the Parliament which he had created had become the laughing-stock of the nation. The day arrived when Parliament, owning its own unworthiness, resigned its authority to Cromwell. L. 1. L. 2.

The Army Council, in virtue of the powers which Parliament had resigned into its hands, declared that the reins should M. 1.

M. 2. be placed in Cromwell's hands with the title of Protector, and that he should be assisted by one-and-twenty members. The question of government was similarly arranged. It enacted that the Protector should call a Parliament every three years, whch could be dissolved only after five months' session ; that within twenty days the Protector should approve all Bills, and that otherwise they should pass without his consent. On his death the Council, composed of twenty-one members, should elect another Protector. He could be neither a General of the Army nor an Admiral of the Fleet.

Cromwell. 1653.

N. 1. Peace was concluded with Holland, in favour of England.

N. 2. Justice was administered with severity, *e.g.* Pantaleon Sa, brother of the Portuguese Ambassador, was executed for having killed a man.

1654.

O. 1. The King of France sent the Archbishop of Bordeaux as
O. 2. Ambassador to London.

P. 1. Penn captured Jamaica. 1655.

Q. 1. Blake captured some of the Spanish galleons. 1656.

Q. 2.
Q. 3. Blake died the same year. 1657.

R. 1. Cromwell concluded with France an offensive and defen-
R. 2. sive alliance. Dunkirk, which was captured, was given to the English.

S. 1. The Protector died this year on September 3, aged fifty-
S. 2. nine. The day of his death was signalised by a frightful
S. 3. tempest. Cromwell came of a respectable Huntingdonshire
S. 4. family. Cromwell was in early days a libertine : religion took
S. 5. possession of him, and he became a prophet. Courageous,
S. 6.
S. 7. clever, deceitful, dissimulating, his early principles of lofty
S. 8. republicanism yielded to the devouring flames of his ambition, and having tasted the sweets of power he aspired to the pleasure of
S. 9. reigning alone. He possessed a strong constitution, and had manly but brusque manners. From the most austere religious functions he passed to the most frivolous amusements, and made himself
S. 10. ridiculous by his buffoonery. He was naturally just and temperate.

Richard succeeded his father. He assembled a Parliament T. 1.
which confirmed his election, but the army, which had been the T. 2.
1658. instrument used by his father for increasing his own authority, gave the signal for insubordination, and Fleetwood, Lambert, and Ludlow gained the supreme power. T. 3.
The old Parliament was re-established by the intrigues of T. 4.
1659. Lambert. The re-establishment of this Parliament, named the Long, ended by overthrowing Richard, and Fleetwood was named Commander-in-Chief of the Army. He and Lambert entered London sword in hand, drove out Parliament and established a Committee of Officers. Thus the government became a military one. Parliament once more triumphed, and Lambert was arrested and made prisoner.

Monk, in concert with the Presbyterian party, set out from Scotland where he was in command, and advanced on London U. 1.
1660. under the pretext of re-establishing the former Members of Parliament whom the Independent party had driven out. Monk was made General-in-Chief of the troops. Lambert, the soul of the Independents, would have been the only man capable of opposing Monk's projects, which U. 2.
were tending unmistakably to the re-establishment of the U. 3.
monarchy, but Lambert was in the Tower.

The sect of the Quakers had been founded by George Fox, V. 1.
weaver. A woman of this sect appeared naked in church; V. 2.
several followed her example, saying that the restitution of all things was at hand. James Naylor got it into his head that he was the saviour of the world. He made his entry into Bristol with his disciples, who cried "Hosanna!" He was seized, arrested, imprisoned in Bridewell, reduced to bread and water—his illusions vanished.

The assembled Parliament recognised the king on May 8, W. 1.
and on the 29th he made his entry into London. Mazarin was W. 2.
as much astonished as the King of Spain at this revolution.

CHARLES II

A. 1.[1] MONK received the reward of his cleverness. He was made Knight of the Garter and Duke of Albemarle.
A. 2. Manchester was made Lord Chamberlain, Ashley,
A. 3. Hollis, were made Barons, &c. &c. Sir Francis Hyde, Earl of Clarendon, was made Prime Minister and Lord Chancellor.

Charles II. 1660.

B. 1. Lambert and Vane were excepted from the Act of Amnesty.
B. 2.
B. 3. The property of Cromwell was confiscated; Harrison, Scot,
B. 4. Carew, Scroop, Jones, Clement, Cook, Axtel, Hacker, were condemned. They bore their fate with the courage and the
B. 5. constancy of martyrs.

C. 1. The king married Catherine, Infanta of Portugal, who
C. 2. brought him as her dowry three hundred thousand
C. 3. pounds and the fortresses of Tangier and Bombay.
C. 4.
C. 5. He sold Dunkirk for four hundred thousand pounds sterling.

1663.

D. 1. Harry Vane, an innocent victim, was executed.
D. 2. A drum was beaten to prevent his speech being heard.

1664.

E. 1. The Duke of York seized a hundred and thirty merchant-
E. 2. men, although war had not yet begun. War with the Republic was declared. The illustrious John Witt was at
E. 3. this time Pensionary. Opdam and Van Tromp,
son of Martin Van Tromp, commanded the fleet. The Duke of York and Prince Rupert commanded the English. They engaged
E. 4. near Colchester. The English had a hundred and forty ships, and the Dutch a hundred and twenty. Opdam's ship was blown up by a bomb. The Dutch lost ninety ships and six thousand men.

1665.

F. 1. Prince Rupert and Monk attacked the Dutch fleet com-

[1] These notes will be found on pp. 327–338.

manded by Ruyter and Tromp. It consisted of seventy-six ships. A French squadron came to its help and forced the F. 2.

1666. English to retire. The English fleet, consisting of over a hundred ships, was attacked by the combined fleets, which numbered only eighty-eight. The battle took F. 3. place at the mouth of the Thames. The English won. A F. 4. terrible fire burnt thirteen thousand two hundred houses, eighty- F. 5. nine churches. The ruins extended over four hundred and

1677. thirty-six acres. The fire lasted three days.

The Treaty of Breda enraged the whole nation. G. 1.

Chancellor Clarendon, too austere to remain respected in the H. 1. licentious court of Charles, being arraigned by Parliament, sought H. 2. H. 3. refuge in France, where he wrote the history of the Great Rebellion. H. 4.

This year the London Exchange was established. I.

The king demanded subsidies, but Parliament replied only by examining the public accounts. The king allowed himself to

1669. be governed by Clifford, Ashley, Buckingham—the J. 1. men of the Cabal. He began to make himself J. 2. J. 3. independent. The expenses of the navy rose to five hundred J. 4. thousand pounds sterling. J. 5.

Lord Lucas once again inveighed against the Administration K. 1.

1671. to the king. He declared that the people were more down-trodden than if they had been subdued K. 2. by a victorious enemy.

The notorious Blood had served in Cromwell's army. He L. 1. had (nearly) assassinated the Duke of Ormonde, and tried to steal the Crown Jewels. By his wiles he obtained pardon, and became L. 2. the king's confidential adviser.

France, England, the Elector of Cologne, and the Bishop M. 1. of Munster attacked Holland in concert. Thomas Clifford was

1672. made Treasurer. He it was who conceived the idea of suspending payments from the Exchequer and applying its funds to pay for the king's amusements. This destroyed the country's credit.

N. 1. The Earl of Sandwich preferred blowing up his ship to the disgrace of surrendering it. The combined French and English fleets attacked the Dutch. The battle was undecided. Yet on
N. 2. the whole the Dutch seemed to have the advantage. Marshal D'Estrées took no part in the action.

O. 1. Charles tolerated the Catholics; this was the first matter which aroused the protests of this year's Parliament. 1673.
It passed the famous Test Act.

Finished Sunday, November 30, 1788.

P. 1. There was a naval battle between the English
P. 2. and the Dutch. The former were victorious. Louis XIV. bestowed a pension of a hundred thousand pounds on Charles. *Auxonne.*

Parliament gave the king much anxiety. The Earl of Danby and the Duke of Lauderdale were impeached by the Commons,
Q. 1. and little was required for the Independent party to regain its supremacy.

The Court of Equity is the Chancellor's court where the
R. 1. severity of the law is moderated.

1675.

The Commons granted three hundred thousand
S. 1. pounds for the building of twenty ships.

T. 1. Titus Oates, a notorious informer, was the agent employed
T. 2. to ruin the Roman Catholics, as also was Bedloe of Newbury.
T. 3. The Commons commanded that all Catholics should take the Test Oath. The Duke of York, himself 1678.
T. 4. a Catholic, begged with tears in his eyes to be excepted. He was successful only by a majority of two votes.

U. 1. The Earl of Shaftesbury had the ruling influence in Parliament. He was chief of the Opposition.

V. 1. Sir William Temple, an illustrious diplomatist, renowned for his integrity.

W. This year the Bill was passed which declares the 1679.
Duke of York unfitted for the succession.

X. Eighteen members of the House who were in the pay of the Court were exposed.

The Habeas Corpus Bill became an Act. Y. 1.

Charles dissolved Parliament. Z. 1.

The Opposition compared the Court party to Irish robbers, and called them Tories. The courtiers in revenge called the Opposition Whigs, a term of contempt given formerly to rigid Presbyterians who lived only on a kind of butter-milk called whig. The latter had the Earl of Shaftesbury for their leader. Lord Russell, a stern republican, proposed that a Bill be framed to exclude the Duke of York from the crown. Aa. 1.

1680. *Whig and Tory.*

Sir William Jones, Sir Francis Winnington, Sir Henry Capel, Sir William Pulteney, Colonel Legge, Hampden, and Montagu, supported the motion. They maintained that Parliament had the right of changing whatever it thought fit in the Constitution. Ab.

The Bill passed the House of Commons, but was rejected by the Peers owing to an eloquent speech by Lord Halifax. Ac. 1. Ac. 2.

The Commons complained bitterly of the king. They noted that, with more than a million pounds which had been voted for the navy, he had not caused a single ship to be built; that two millions voted to maintain the Triple Alliance had been employed to destroy it. The Commons gave it to be understood that the king himself had entered into a conspiracy against the Protestant religion. Such a conspiracy it was believed had been unmasked. Much blood was shed, that of Lord Stafford among others. Ad.

Parliament tried with all its might to get the Bill of Exclusion passed. The Opposition having an enormous majority, the king dissolves Parliament, and convoked another at Oxford. Ae. 1.

1681.

The members of this new Parliament came to it armed, as if a rupture were inevitable. Ae. 2.

The heads of the Opposition had already brought up several Bills against the king when the latter dissolved it. Af.

The Grand Jury is a tribunal composed of twenty-four Members, gentlemen or artisans, chosen indiscriminately from

Ag. 1. the whole County by the Sheriff to consider the indictments presented to the Court.

The Earl of Shaftesbury was arrested, and the indictment
Ah. 1. submitted to the Jury was rejected, to the people's great joy.

Ai. 1. Charles triumphed. His cruel and arbitrary government had
Ai. 2. given birth to many plots. The Duke of Monmouth, the Earl of
Ai. 3. Essex, Lords Russell and Howard, Algernon Sydney,
Ai. 4. and John Hampden were the heads, and many other 1683.
subordinates, such as Colonels Rumsey and Walcot, &c. &c. This conspiracy was called the Rye House Plot. They were found
Ai. 5. out. Lord Russell, the English Brutus, adored by all—Lord Cavendish offered to effect his escape, but he refused. He perished with the *sang froid* of heroism and virtue.

Aj. 1. Lord Sydney, in whom was revived the patriotism of the old Republicans, shared the like fate. Lord Sydney was the author of a writing to explain the nature of the original Contract on which Government is established. These notes were found
Aj. 2. among his papers. The Earl of Essex was found dead in the Tower. He had cut his throat with a razor. The king had been there that morning with his brother. Children had seen a bloody razor thrown through the window. Baillie of Jerviswood, well known for his talents and his integrity, conducted the nego-
Aj. 3. tiation between Argyll and the Duke of Monmouth. He was arrested, and perished with a firmness worthy of an early Roman.

Ak. 1. Charles made himself master of all the Charters which established in their privileges the borough corporations of the kingdom. It is said he intended to sell them, 1684.
when he died at the age of fifty-four.

Al. 1. On the death of Charles were found two papers written in his own hand in defence of the Roman Catholic religion. 1685.

Am. The means which Charles employed to sustain his authority was to follow his own inclinations. He was a libertine, careless, wasteful, given up to the pleasures of the senses, a voluptuary.

JAMES II

THE king assembled the Council and declared his intention of maintaining the Protestant religion. A. 1.[1] A. 2.

James II. 1685. He was crowned on April 23, but it was remarked that the crown was too big for his head. B. 1. B. 2.

The Commonalties of England deprived of their Charters found themselves at the king's mercy. C. 1.

Ayloffe, a relation of the old Earl of Clarendon, was captured, together with the Duke of Argyll, and accused of participation in the Rye House Plot. James himself questioned him: "You are aware that it is in my power to pardon you," said the king to him. "That is true, Sire," replied Ayloffe, "but not in your nature." D. 1.

James, Duke of Monmouth, attempted a revolution, but was taken and lost his head. Feversham and Colonel Kirke, who had defeated Monmouth's small army, committed the most atrocious depredations by the aid of the soldiers of the latter's regiment, which for this reason was called Kirke's Lambs. The name is still held in horror in these counties as much as Jeffreys. E. 1. E. 2. E. 3. E. 4. E. 5.

This cruel Jeffreys condemned twenty-nine persons at Dorchester; in his own town he had two hundred and ninety-two executed, and two hundred and fifty more were sacrificed at Exeter. F. 1. F. 2. F. 3. F. 4.

Parliament lost no time in taking cognisance of the protection which the king was according to Catholicism. Cook, member for Derby, was the first to speak in the good cause. Parliament was prorogued. G. 1. G. 2. G. 3. G. 4.

[1] These notes will be found on pp. 338–346.

H. 1. Priests disembarked from every coast of Europe. Papists were admitted to the Council, &c. &c., and into
H. 2. the army. James sent an ambassador to the Pope. 1686.

The Universities were filled with Roman Catholics, and the former professors driven forth. James was everywhere successful. A Parliament composed of Tories flattered him; his subjects were bowed under the 1687.
yoke of his authority. His favourites possessed all the high
I. 1. places of the kingdom; the Catholics were already powerful.

But it was in vain he tried to abolish the penal laws and the Test Act. Moreover, Englishmen who were good patriots looked on with horror at the measures the king was taking to overthrow the Constitution. They 1688.
united and resolved to stop these ambitious projects. James
J. 1. on his own authority abolished the penal laws and accorded liberty of conscience.

K. 1. The Bishop of London, however, and the Archbishop of
K. 2. Canterbury, Sancroft, refused to publish this enactment of the
K. 3. king. They were sent to the Tower as if they had published licentious libels against the king.

L. 1. The accouchement of the queen took place in June. The Opposition scandal-mongers spread a rumour that this was a
L. 2. mere Court supposition.

M. 1. The cause of the Bishops was tried, and the tribunal declared
M. 2. them not guilty. Holloway and Powell were the first who declared in the Bishops' favour.

The king wished to sound the feelings of his army. He
N. 1. went up to a regiment and asked through the Major that those who were unwilling to support the abolition of the penal laws
N. 2. should ground arms. The whole regiment shouldered arms.

O. 1. Lord Herbert, Admiral Russell, Henry Sidney, Lords Dun-
O. 2. blaine, Lovelace, Delamere, Paulet, Eland, the Bishop of London, the Duke of Norfolk, the Marquis of Halifax, the Earls of Essex and of Devonshire. The Earl of Shaftesbury mort-

gaged his property for forty thousand pounds, and offered the proceeds to the Prince of Orange.

James, now thoroughly alarmed, abated considerably his first pretensions. He asked counsel from the very bishops that he had just caused to be imprisoned; he re-established in all their rigour the laws that he had violated, and also the Protestant religion, and the Catholic priests disappeared, and anticipated the coming storm by flying from it. P. 1.

On October 19, the Prince of Orange, who had married Mary, the daughter of James, crossed to England with a fleet of fifty men-of-war, twenty frigates, and four hundred transport vessels, on which were embarked twelve to thirteen thousand men. A host of English came under his orders. They disembarked at Torbay, in the province of Exeter. On November 15, Seymour joined them, and proposed a union for the defence of the laws and liberties of the kingdom. Q. 1. Q. 2. Q. 3. Q. 4. Q. 5. Q. 6.

The officers of the king's army acquainted him with their decision that they could not conscientiously fight against the Prince of Orange, who was at the head of the National Association. On December 23 the king fled from England with his son, the Duke of Berwick. R. 1. R. 2.

A specially summoned assembly, composed of all those who had been Members of Parliament during the reign of Charles II., accorded to the Prince of Orange the right of disposing of everything as if he were king. S. 1.

Parliament, summoned under the style of the Convention, having assembled on January 22, each Chamber chose itself a Speaker. Mr. Dolben in the Lower House undertook to prove that the throne, in virtue of the king's flight, was vacant. Parliament declared that James II. having tried to upset the constitution of the realm by breaking the original contract between king and people, having violated its fundamental laws and abandoned the kingdom, had left the throne vacant. T. 1. T. 2. T. 3. T. 4.

The Earls of Rochester and Nottingham proposed that a

Protector should be chosen, as if the king were mad. These
U. 1. lords were the heads of the Tory party. A new king was preferred by a majority of two votes. It was decided that there existed an original Contract between the king and his subjects by
U. 2. a majority or seven votes.
V. 1. It was then debated whether, even supposing James had violated the original Contract between himself and his people, and had abandoned the government, the throne was vacant.
V. 2. The Tories maintained that the throne could never be vacant.
V. 3. The contrary was carried by a majority of eleven votes.
W. 1. At last the crown was offered to the Prince of Orange and to the Princess Mary, on condition that the Prince alone should direct the affairs of the country.

William, Prince of Orange, King. 1689.

NOTES

"*I suppose the reader's search is after truth, which he will never attain, if he implicitly follows, without examination, the first historian which comes in his way.*" —RAPIN's "History of England," vol. xi. p. 215.

"*Therefore to us, that have taken upon us this painful task of abridging, it was not easy, but a matter of sweat and watching; even as it is no ease unto him that prepareth a banquet, and seeketh the benefit of others.*"—2. Maccabees ii. 27.

View of Auxonne, where the Note-Books were compiled.

NOTES TO PART IV

For a French citizen, and especially for Napoleon, the French translation of Barrow is often very suggestive—even where no comment occurs in the Note-Book. Referring to William's strategy (after Hastings) in securing Dover Castle we read, "Thus William became master of the most advantageous and important key of the kingdom, alike for marching inland, or for assuring retreat, as things fell out. On arriving near the capital William did not think it advisable to trust his person to the inhabitants of London, and encamped outside"—a custom invariably followed by Napoleon with large towns which, as he once told one of his generals, "you cannot take by the collar." As to the invasion of England itself, Barrow says it was a "rash, almost a desperate enterprise." It was far more so in the early days of last century.

The Normans are described as colonists, and England as "une Colonie naissante." In pacifying a new country William, like Napoleon later, "destroyed the sources of rebellion as much by diplomacy as by warfare."

William I

*A*1. *Stigand.*—The promise was not kept. "Old shrivell'd Stigand" had been the main support of the English after Hastings and was not likely to be forgiven, especially as his position as Archbishop was canonically unsound. Carte says, "He was not so much versed in the knowledge of books, as he was of men; learning not being the favourite taste or distinguishing character of the English in those days: but he had great natural parts, improved by reflection, exercise, and experience, and directed by a clear head and solid judgment. . . . He was a true Englishman,

very zealous for the interests of his country." This was the real cause of his ruin. In 1070 Lanfranc, a Milanese monk, was summoned from Normandy, and he superseded Stigand after a trial, of which the verdict was a foregone conclusion. At this trial the Bishop of Sion, the first Papal legate ever sent to England, and two Cardinals officiated. William seized the vast estates, and Stigand died of want "in a stinking prison," because he would not say where he had hidden his treasures. After death a paper and a little key fastened round his neck enabled the king to obtain them. "With him," adds Carte, "expired the liberties of the people, and the independency of the Church of England."

*A*2. *The Clergy.*—Here, as always, Napoleon speaks cynically of priestcraft.

*B*1. *Abbot of St. Albans.*—He heads the rebellions of 1071, and takes refuge in Ely, where he dies soon afterwards.

*C*1. *William*—as conqueror, and Napoleon, as captive, both tried to learn the English of their own day, and both failed.

*C*2. *Hereward.*—Compared with the very scanty record in Hume, Barrow is full and vigorous—making copious use of Ingulf. Three pages are devoted to the hero who is described as the "bravest warrior of his age."

*C*3. *The Monks betrayed.*—It is pleasant for once to remember how the biters were in turn bit. The monks, after Ely was captured, had (for want of one groat, say some) to pay William a further thousand silver marks, and to entertain forty knights quartered upon them.

A few pages later Napoleon would read how, when Philip of France invades Normandy, William, not trusting the conquered English in their own land, takes fifty thousand of them to fight the new enemy. This mode of utilising late enemies as new levies was repeatedly made use of by Napoleon, especially in 1809.

The passage of arms between King William and Pope Gregory (where for the last time for many years a king was victorious) is not referred to in the Note-Book. The death of Waltheof[1] "a martyr for his native land," is given at length in

[1] He was beheaded at Winchester, and buried under the scaffold. Later his body was removed to Croyland, and worked miracles.

Barrow. This and William's defeat by his son Robert are unrecorded in the Note-Book.

*D*1. *Walcher, Bishop of Durham*—had, on Waltheof's death, bought the Earldom of Northumberland from William. Ligulf, an English gentleman of high position and a great benefactor of the church of Durham, was murdered because of his influence over Walcher. While deeply sorry for his friend's death, Walcher was too much in the hands of his agents to punish them. It was in 1080, when he proposed pecuniary compensation for the murder at the Gateshead County Court, that the riot took place. Barrow notes that the people of Northumberland (*i.e.* north of Humber) in spite of their troubles, and the decimation of the southern portion, still preserved the spirit of independence more than any other province. The murder of the Bishop and a hundred retainers, in his own See, was an act certainly not deficient in pluck. Odo was sent to punish them, and among his robberies must be mentioned that of the pastoral staff of Durham, "made of sapphires," which he brought back with him.

*E*1. *William had him arrested*—not, however, in his capacity as Bishop of Bayeux, but as Earl of Kent. Carte supplies point to the Bishop's expectations of the Papacy by recounting the saying of an astrologer, that Pope Gregory should be followed by a Pope Odo. The Bishop had already bought and furnished a great palace in Rome, and the Earl of Chester and many other nobles were selling their estates and preparing to accompany him. He was not released till William was dead, accompanied Duke Robert to the Crusades, and died at the Siege of Antioch.

*F*1. *William's doctors.*—The two cleverest of their time, says Barrow. These prelates, adds Carte, "perceiving their medicines had no effect, advertised him of his danger, and he prepared for death."

*G*1. *The worries of a twenty-nine years' reign.*—Barrow gives the verdict of Henry of Huntington on William, but his own seems well worth recording. Born with the best attributes of royalty, his strong passions nipped them in the bud. "His mighty genius longed to conquer and to rule; his ambition was to live happily, but to reign, yet he deceived himself in wishing

to reign over slaves. Hence the miseries of his life, and the endless troubles of his reign. A wise, equitable government which shows the difference between a father of his people and a slave-driver with his whip, would have heralded halcyon days and a glorious reign, but that was not his conception of kingship; his goal was his own glorification and not the crown of virtue, hence though he gained power he remained unhappy, and when he went down into his grave people still marvelled at his fortune, but cursed his memory." Among his virtues Ranke cites that he honoured his mother, was true to his wife, never entered into a quarrel without giving fair notice, and was a mighty leader of splendid men. Of his talents Freeman (*Ency. Brit.*) says that he united the highest military skill of his age with a political skill which would have made him great in any age. This eulogy on a larger platform is applicable to Napoleon, who also, like William, gave much encouragement to the Jews.

H1. A deer forest—i.e. the New Forest. "Beasts of chase he cherished as if they were his children," says Henry of Huntingdon. Polydore Vergil and Selden think this devastation was mainly planned to make a safe approach for the Normans to Winchester, the capital. Thirty-six parish churches were demolished to make room for it: and the monks did not fail to chronicle that two of his sons and one of his grandsons lost their lives by extraordinary accidents in this very forest. Thierry thinks that William's harsh game laws may have been partly framed to prevent secret gatherings of his foes in the fastnesses of the forest.

H2. The Court of the Exchequer—was moulded on a like Court in Normandy. "Nothing is so important under the Norman Kings," says Freeman, "as the Exchequer." But the Exchequer is simply an old institution with a new name. The king's hoard, or treasury, must always have had a keeper. But the main object of the Normans, like Napoleon, was to have a big war chest, and its custodian, under the Latin name of treasurer, assumed more importance. "The playful name of Exchequer," as Freeman calls it, was taken from the parti-coloured chess-board pattern which covered the table. In Barrow there are thirty pages between the account of the founding of the Court of the Exchequer (1071) and the compilation of Doomsday Book (1081). The latter was

kept in the rooms of the former for reference, in order (as an old historian says) to find out, when necessary, "of how much more wool the English flocks might be fleeced."

William II

11. William II.—Nothing shows Napoleon's aptness as a student of foreign history better than his perception of the relative importance of the reigns of William I. and William II. Barrow gives William II. fifty pages, William I. eighty (Carte twenty-seven and twenty-three respectively). Napoleon, like J. R. Green in his smaller history, gives the Conqueror over ten times more space than the Red King. One is perhaps rather surprised that more mention of Robert and the Crusades is not to be found, while the completion of the Tower of London, the building of Westminster Hall, and a new London Bridge appeal less to a foreigner than to an Englishman. Barrow gives no credit to the King for them. The old bridge had broken down, the King was displeased with his palace of Westminster when built—although one of the most magnificent in Europe; while the building of a stone rampart round the Tower, during a famine, nearly ruined the wretched Londoners.

The incident of William's comforting his sailors in a storm by declaring that "a king is never drowned," is found in Barrow, but ignored by Napoleon.

12. Money.—Part of the sixty thousand pounds of the Winchester treasure seized by William on his father's death.

Henry I

J1. Henry I.—No mention is made by Napoleon of Tinchebrai, the great battle which, as Freeman[1] says, reversed Senlac, and conquered Normandy for England. This is the fault of

[1] Rapin, five generations earlier, made the same remark: "As the Battle of Hastings made the Normans master of England, so Tinchebray, which was fought forty years after, put the English in possession of Normandy."

Barrow, who is so enamoured of the personal courage of Duke Robert that he misses the historic landmark as he passes by it.

J2. Odo—and William de Saint Carilef, Bishop of Durham. The latter supported Rufus against Anselm. The sentence, strictly speaking, belongs to the previous reign (1088). It was the English levies, and thirty thousand Londoners, who saved Rufus.

K1. Charters of privilege.—Barrow points out that these were hidden away so carefully that, by the reign of John, scarcely one could be found, although the chief abbey of every county had received one.

M1. Anselm.—The friend of the Saxons and the champion of their saints.

M2. At length—in 1107. Anselm, like Becket later, found justice in Rome difficult to procure if others had more gold to buy it with.

N1. Crema.—All the Chronicles tell this story—Matthew Paris, Matthew of Westminster, and Henry of Huntingdon—and the latter apologises for telling tales of a brother priest, but adds that the fact was notorious and ought not to be concealed. The story is fully told in English by Carte (vol. i. p. 516), who, as usual, gives interesting details omitted by most later writers.

Stephen

O1. Stephen.—He owed the crown to the celerity with which he seized it. He was better placed as Count of Boulogne for making the venture.

O2. Bishop of Winchester, brother of King Stephen.—"The skilled and politic churchman, who was willing enough to be a king's brother if he might build up ecclesiastical supremacy through him" (*Stubbs*, "Early Plantagenets").

O3. Legate.—This appointment of a legate, other than the Archbishop of Canterbury, seemed immaterial at the time, but was to have great consequences in later reigns. Rapin, with the shrewd glance of a foreigner, notes how the Court of Rome owes the progress and growth of its power purely to its political prudence. "The Popes wisely gave way to princes of resolution and

steadiness, whilst at the same time they vigorously proceeded against those whose circumstances would not permit them to oppose their designs."

Henry of Winchester was made Legate in 1139, just at the time that Stephen had mortally offended the leading Bishops of the country.

O4. The Standard.—This is even better described by Barrow than by Carte. "It consisted of a ship's mast, placed on a sort of chariot on wheels; at the top of the mast was a silver cross, and around floated the banners of St. Peter (of York), St John of Beverley, and St. Wilfred (of Ripon)." He puts the Scots loss at ten thousand, which seems too great. Stephen rewarded William de Albemarle and Robert de Ferrers by making them Earls of Yorkshire and Derbyshire respectively. The main credit and conduct of the campaign was due to the aged Thurstan, Archbishop of York, while his deputy, the Bishop of the Orcades, promised immortality to all the English soldiers killed in the battle. In spite of the victory Stephen concludes peace with the Scots, and leaves the county of Northumberland in their possession.

O5. Battle of Lincoln.—Although Stephen was taken prisoner, the loss in killed to his army was only a hundred men. According to the Chronicles the king showed astounding valour, and both his axe and sword were broken before he surrendered.

O6. Won by Matilda.—The Empress of the Romans was now made Lady of England at Winchester. She was not crowned, but had full sovereign powers.

O7. He—i.e. the Bishop of Winchester. Stephen had put two Bishops in prison (Roger of Salisbury and Alexander of Lincoln—one in an ox-crib) which alienated, for the time, his brother's sympathies.

P1. Miles.—Like his father before him, Miles had been Captain of the Guard—the old name of the Constable of England. He told Florence of Worcester that the first two years after the Empress's arrival in England he defrayed all her household expenses himself. His death in 1146 (killed by an arrow at a hunting match) much weakened Matilda's cause.

Q1. Although he was of the hostile faction.—i.e. Archbishop Theobald supported Matilda. As both Miles of Hereford and

Robert of Gloucester were dead, the war was already dying down ; but Stephen had almost a unique gift of creating new troubles for himself, especially with the Church. He failed to realise that the strides made by the Church since crusading had made the Pope virtually Emperor of Europe. It was from the home of Hugh Bigot, in Suffolk, that Theobald launched his Interdict which lasted from September 12, 1147, to February 1, 1148. "Divine service ceased throughout all Stephen's dominions, while it was celebrated as usual in all the provinces which acknowledged the Empress."

*R*1. *Stephen.*—A brave man, and kinder than Norman William or his sons. But his weak position made him false—no one trusted him. Feudalism rioted in iniquity under the rival claimants—as the chronicler said, "every one did what was right in his own eye." Napoleon makes no mention of the death of Stephen's son Eustace, which left the succession of Henry of Anjou easy to arrange.

Henry II

*S*1. *Henry II.*—"In ruling over a vast number of distinct States, widely differing in blood, language, and everything else, ruling over all without exclusively belonging to any, Henry II., king, duke and count of all the lands from the Pyrenees to the Scottish border, was the forerunner of the Emperor Charles V." (*Freeman*). In 1172 he was the greatest prince in Christendom.

Napoleon makes no allusion to Eleanor of Acquitaine's marriage with Henry ; but when refreshed by reading Hume in a French translation at St. Helena, he told Admiral Malcolm that people were not now sheep to be disposed of as in former times, when a king of France would not continue wedded with a woman because she was ill behaved, "and your Prince Henry, not so scrupulous, married her and by her obtained possession of two fine provinces, Poitou and Guienne." Before the end of it Eleanor had proved herself the strongest female personality of the twelfth century. There is something wistfully pathetic, as Bishop Stubbs points out, in seeing this old lady of eighty—the once hated wife of two kings—seeking, twenty years after both

Louis VII. and Henry II. were buried, to undo the mistakes of the past by marrying the granddaughter of the second husband to the grandson of the first.

Henry himself had traits that linked him as a ruler with Napoleon. Like Napoleon, like our own Henry VII. and Charles II., he was welcomed by a war-worn people as bringing anarchy and misrule to an end. Henry as a leader seemed ubiquitous, as a worker insatiable. Like Napoleon he tired every one else out. He even talked business during Mass. He had worse outbursts of temper than Napoleon, but he owed this possibly to his demon ancestress. He never shone so brightly as when apparently overwhelmed. Yet all the while solid legislative work was being done *thoroughly*. By dismantling the castles of the barons, and reinstituting the old Saxon militia, he was doing work that either Cromwell or the First Consul might have been proud to endorse.

*T*1. *A clerk.*—Becket agreed to his degradation, but when Henry insisted on his punishment, the Archbishop said it would be iniquitous to try a man twice for the same offence.

*T*2. *Becket, Archbishop.*—He was the first *English* Archbishop of Canterbury elected since the Conquest.

*U*1. *He would never sentence a churchman to death.*—Becket declared that as the clergy were prohibited from participating in any sentence which involved shedding of blood, he would never doom any ecclesiastic to the death penalty, however culpable. The worst feature of the time was that noted criminals, instead of seeking an alibi, merely called themselves *clerks*.

*U*2. *Constitutions of Clarendon.*—Given at length by Carte, and summarised in Stubbs' "Constitutional History."

*U*3. *He was accused.*—Freeman sums up the position: "Thomas showed himself violent and provoking; Henry showed himself mean and spiteful." The first two money claims Becket was prepared to meet and to find sureties for, but the third, which implicated him in a sum of forty thousand marks, was an impossible one to satisfy. It was as Chancellor that he had misappropriated monies, but Becket considered that, as the king had made no claim when he made him Archbishop, all prior claims were thereby cancelled.

*U*4. *The Cross in front of him.*—He had arrived on horseback, wearing his sacred vestments (save pall and mitre), but on enter-

ing the Court, carried the cross himself, as one fearing for his life. The Archbishop of York and George Foliot, Bishop of London, reprimanded him, and told him the king had a sharper weapon than his, whereupon Becket replied that "the king's weapon could kill the body, but his destroyed the soul, and sent it to hell."

U5. The King's Court assembled.—This was in an inner room. Becket had remained in the great hall.

U6. He withdrew.—Carte adds that as he passed through the castle-yard to his horse, he was hooted along as a perjured wretch and a traitor ; whereupon he retorted by calling his revilers by name liars, bastards, and scoundrels—generally with a modicum of truth in every case. Barrow marvels at the manner in which he braved justice on this occasion, without employing either force of arms or bribery.

U7. Sens.—When Henry heard of the Pope's kind reception of Becket, he made the mistake of punishing Becket's relations in order to impoverish the Archbishop. The people began to side with Becket.

U8. General disaffection.—Henry prepared for the worst. Barrow gives the various punishments threatened against the man who brought an interdict to England ; if a secular clergyman, he was to lose his eyes and virility ; if a monk, his feet were to be amputated ; if a layman, he was to be hung ; if a leper, burnt.

V1. The tails of his horses. — The two gentlemen were Nigel de Sackville and Robert de Broke. Only one sumpter horse seems to have been tampered with, and De Broke was the culprit. The Excommunication was launched by Becket on Christmas Day 1170, from the pulpit at Canterbury. Napoleon does not make a single note concerning the murder of Becket.

W1. 1174.—This was a year of coalition against Henry. Amongst his foes were the kings of France and England, his wife and children, and most of the great barons both of Normandy and England. By his celerity and the want of union among his foes, he defeated them all in turn.

W2. The Bishop of Lincoln (elect).—This was Geoffrey, Henry's son by the fair Rosamund. Hugh of Durham was about

to declare for Scotland when he heard of their king's capture, and changed his mind. Barrow says Geoffrey had already defeated Hugh. Napoleon seems always impressed by prelates marching at the head of armies.

*W*3. *Puiset*—or Pudsey, nephew to King Stephen ; "a great captain, a great hunter, a most splendid builder" (*Stubbs*).

*W*4. *Henry submitted himself.*—Having been well whipped by the monks and spent the night in prayer, the next day, July 13th, he receives absolution for the death of Becket. The same day, far away in the north, his generals and the Yorkshire levies, now blessed by the new St. Thomas, defeat the Scots and capture their king ; and on the high seas the king's rebel son sees his invading navy scattered by a storm.

*X*1. *The Queen of France*, Adelaide.—Her husband, Louis VII., was paralysed and dying. Young Philip, aged fourteen, was governing in his stead. He had turned his mother out of the country. She was to have the seven francs a day as long as her husband lived, and then to enjoy the interest of her dower estates, but no right to the fortresses and castles thereon.

*Y*1. *Henry, the king's son.*—This young rebel got a hundred francs a day for himself, and ten for his wife, besides a year's appointments for a hundred of his knights. The young prince was preparing to go to the Holy Land, but died a few months later. "He passed away like foam upon the water, no man regretting him" (*Stubbs*).

*Z*1. *Ireland.*—The arrangement is Napoleon's. In Barrow, the order is chronological throughout the reign. It is now known that Napoleon never placed much trust in Irish help, or in Irish leaders. Perhaps he had a hazy recollection of Barrow, whose voluminous studies of voyages to all nations and climes entitled him to a hearing on all ethnographical subjects. He writes here in his "English History" : "The fertility of the soil, the atmosphere and temperature, the capacious havens—a multitude of blessings which, for other nations, are a source of greatness and wealth, were for the Irish a subject of reproach. The indolence of these people, nursed on pride, saw with indifference the most bountiful gifts of nature wither and decay. Laziness had blunted in them the vigour natural to the human race, and it might be

said that they lacked alike the virtues and the vices of the rest of mankind."[1]

*Ab*1. *Lord of Breany* (or Breffny in Barrow).—This was Tigernac O'Rourke. The King of Connaught's full name was Roderick O'Connor Dun.

*Ab*2. *His daughter*.—Eva was her name.

*Ab*3. *A monastery*.—Ferns, which he had founded for, as Hume adds, "this ruffian was also a founder of monasteries." He dies here in 1171.

*Ab*4. *All the kings of the country*.—The Gervaise Chronicle hints that this was because they preferred Henry for their lord rather than Strongbow. But the Irish generally seemed to like the Earl, calling him Ningal, *i.e.* the stranger's friend.

*Ab*5. *Justiciar*.—Freeman considers this was an office brought into existence by the Normans, and Stubbs says that the history of the title is obscure. He was next to the king in power and authority, and acted as viceroy in his absence.

Barrow unites with Carte and most historians in singing the praises of Henry, who "united in himself all the great qualities of a politician, a general, and a legislator," and was one of the most powerful and illustrious monarchs who ever reigned over England. Rapin had judged him much more severely.

Richard I

"Richard was powerful, brave, and generous, but his power kindled in him an overweening pride; his valour ran into foolhardiness, and his liberality dragged oppression in its wake" (*Barrow*).

*Ac*1. *The Crusade was preached everywhere*.—Barrow says that "the Crusade mania was so great throughout Europe at this time that, according to our old authors, the women sent their distaffs

[1] The Frenchman, Rapin, is even more plain spoken: "There are who considering the blood and treasure that were spent to maintain the English in their conquests, scruple not to say it would have been better for them the island had been at the bottom of the sea. It is certain their keeping it to this day is not so much for the profit they receive from thence, as to prevent its falling into the hands of a foreign Power. For it cannot become subject to a new master without great detriment to the commerce of England" (vol. ii. p. 325).

in derision to the men who had refused or failed to take the Cross." Saladin had entered Jerusalem in 1187, and seized the True Cross. Some eleven thousand Latins had been sold into slavery. The carnage had been less horrible than when Godfrey had stormed the Holy City in 1099, seven hundred years before Napoleon's troops entered it in triumph.

Ac2. The Jews . . . of York.—The account in Barrow is ample, that in Carte meagre. The governor had at first performed his duty and given the Jews asylum in the castle, but when he saw their wealth, or realised the fury of the people at his act of kindness, he left the castle, whereupon the Jews, suspecting his designs, seized it themselves. When famine made further resistance hopeless, a Rabbi exclaimed, "Since all hope is gone, let us fire the castle, and perish by our own hands rather than die ignominiously by those of the uncircumcised." Hume, following the "Annals of Waverley," adds that having killed first their wives and children, they threw the dead bodies from the walls upon their enemies, and then firing the houses, perished in the flames.

Curiously enough, Napoleon has no record of Richard's campaigns or imprisonment, although they are to be found at length in Barrow. Significant enough is the description of the siege of Acre, where some six hundred years later Napoleon was to "miss his destiny" and lose the empire of the world. Acre has always found its fate—good or bad—from the sea. Of Saladin's blockade and the Crusader's siege Barrow says, "The siege is one of the most celebrated of which history has made mention. Like that of Troy, it was undertaken on a frivolous pretext, by great princes of different nations, and its long resistance was the effect rather of the animosity which reigned among the besiegers than of the courage and valour of the besieged. The famous Saladin was then Sultan of the Saracens, and blockaded the besiegers with an army of three hundred thousand men ; so that without the arrival of the English monarch, the whole Christian army would have been obliged to surrender to the Sultan—more than two hundred thousand men having already perished before the place." Caracos, Saladin's own master in the art of war, commanded the Saracen garrison.

The alleged cruelties of Napoleon at Jaffa dwindle into in-

significance when compared with the act of this earlier great adventurer,[1] who, when Saladin refused to ratify the capitulation of Acre, ordered all his five thousand prisoners[2] to be butchered in cold blood, whereupon the Saracens retaliated with a like cruelty.

Alike from Philip of France, from his own barons, and from his brother John, Richard's rights were protected during his absence by the Pope. Such authority belongs to those higher powers, the *force majeure* of imagination which rules the world, and for the want of which Napoleon was to lose it. As warrior he could have remained supreme, but as a pioneer dynasty-maker, whose wars were unblessed by the Pope, and with neither Cerdic nor Capet for ancestor, he was the sport of factions and of cliques the moment his capital was freed from his presence.

Ad 1. *Richard, returning from his captivity.*—That Napoleon remembered details not recorded in the Note-Book seems apparent from his conversation with General Pelet in 1809 (cp. *Alison*, vol. xii. p. 261). Blondel, however, is not mentioned by Barrow. Pelet probably refreshed his memory by imbibing at an alien fount.

Ad 2. *Recrowned.*—Barrow and Carte both follow William of Newbrugh, but Carte's is rather the more lucid description: "The reason of this second coronation was to wipe out the ignominy of his captivity; and as, among the old Romans, such a misfortune carried with it an extinction of all civil rights, it was not an improper method to be taken in a country where the maxims of the civil law were in great repute, and had a considerable influence on the notions of the people. But the King seems to have had another view in it; at least it afforded him a pretence for ordering his realm anew; for repealing whatever he had done after his first coronation; for resuming all his former grants; and for annulling all the sales and contracts he had made before his expedition to the Holy Land; alleging that the grantees had received profit enough by them already, that they were unreasonable and detrimental to the crown, and no subject ought to make an advantage of the king's necessities."

[1] "Richard was himself little more than a great adventurer" (Gardiner and Mullinger, "Introduction to English History").

[2] Even his admirer Vinesauf puts them at 2700.

*Ad*3. *On four occasions.*—Hume, quoting Prynne, says twice. "Twice in his reign he ordered all his charters to be sealed anew, and the parties to pay fees for the renewal."

*Ae*1. *A castle in the Andelys.*—"As a monument of warlike skill his 'Saucy Castle,' Chateau-Gaillard, stands first among the fortresses of the Middle Ages. Richard fixed its site where the Seine bends suddenly at Gaillon in a great semicircle to the north, and where the valley of Les Andelys breaks the line of the chalk cliffs along its banks. Blue masses of woodland crown the distant hills; within the river curve lies a dull reach of flat meadow, round which the Seine, broken with green islets, and dappled with the grey and blue of the sky, flashes like a silver bow on its way to Rouen. . . . At the height of three hundred feet above the river rose the crowning fortress of the whole, . . . the huge donjon looking down on the brown roofs and huddled gables of Les Andelys. Even now in its ruin we can understand the triumphant outburst of its royal builder as he saw it rising against the sky: 'How pretty a child is mine, this child of but one year old'!" (*Green*). It succumbed to Philip of France after enduring a six months' siege in 1204. The French king loaded its governor, Roger de Lacy, with honours for his brave defence.

*Ae*2. *An interdict*—which, however, the Pope, always the friend of Richard, made him cancel.

*Af*1. *The Bishop of Beauvais.*—The story is given in a truncated form by Hume, who follows Rapin, and is ascribed by Goldwin Smith to Archbishop Scrope. Barrow's account is full. After building Chateau-Gaillard, as *un boulevard pour la Normandie*, Richard invaded Picardy, and in an ambush Philip de Dreux, Bishop of Beauvais, and cousin-german of Philip of France, was captured. Richard had him loaded with chains, and thrown into a fearful dungeon at Rouen. Two of his clergy begged Richard to mitigate the Bishop's treatment, but the king replied that he was only having his revenge. "When," he said, "I was prisoner in Germany, the Emperor at first treated me well enough, but shortly after, the Bishop of Beauvais arrived, and I was loaded with more chains than a horse could carry. Can you then blame me for treating the Bishop the same?" The Pope was appealed to, and wrote a very pathetic letter in

favour of the prelate. Richard, for his sole answer, sent to the Pontiff the Bishop's blood-stained cuirass with these words from holy writ, "Whether be this thy son's coat or no?" (Genesis xxxvii. 32). His Holiness had nothing to reply, save that the cuirass which the king had sent him was not that of a child of the Church, but of a minister of Mars, and that the prisoner was fairly at Richard's mercy. Whereupon the Bishop had to compound for his ransom, which was set at two thousand marks.

Respecting the death of Richard from the bolt of a cross-bow, Carte makes the interesting comment that Richard himself had either invented, or at least brought into use, this weapon. This, however, is denied by Tindal, in his notes to Rapin (1757, vol. ii.).

It is the fashion nowadays for historians to depreciate Richard, and Freeman calls him the least English of all our kings, the "meanest and most insatiable of all the spoilers of her wealth." It is a pleasure, therefore, to turn to Carte for the frank admiration, which, welling forth from Geoffrey de Vinesauf, his comrade in the Holy Land, was to find the open sea, burnished by the golden sunshine of romance, in "Ivanhoe" and "The Talisman." Vinesauf compared his eloquence to that of Ulysses, and his prudence to that of Nestor, basing his opinion on Richard's conduct during his fourteen months' imprisonment in Germany.

*Ag*1. *The Bishop of Cambray.*—Pierre de Corbeil, who had been captured by Philip of France together with Philip, Earl of Navarre, during John's absence in England. When the Pope demanded his release the French king stated that the Pope had not helped him to free the Bishop of Beauvais, who was still in prison.

King John

*Ah*1. *A decree of divorce.*—In 1200, during an expedition into Guienne, John saw by chance Isabella, daughter of Aymar Taillefer, Earl of Angoûleme. She was affianced to Hugh Lebrun, Count de la Marche. King John fell in love, proposed, and was accepted, although not actually divorced from his first wife, and even at this very time in treaty for the hand of the daughter of

the King of Portugal. The Count de la Marche henceforth breathed vengeance.

The murder of Prince Arthur (and John's building Beaulieu Abbey in expiation) is told fully by Barrow, but not by Napoleon. The importance of the Arthur episode is now assuming the niche in history which it merits—a very small one. The character of Constance, the mother of this posthumous child, overshadows the whole story, and is well summed up by Bishop Stubbs ("Early Plantagenets," beginning of Chapter VII.).

The marriage of John and Isabella was fatal for English rule in Normandy. Richard's "Saucy Castle" held out for over five months, but what could be expected of a man who only left his nuptial couch at noon? Uxoriousness was as epoch-making in 1203, when it gained Normandy for France, as in 1810, when it lost her Spain. When John heard of another castle lost he bellowed boastingly, "Let them go on, I'll recover more in a day than they take in a twelvemonth." It had taken France two hundred and ninety-two years to recover Normandy. Hubert de Burgh's defence of Chinon Castle for a year was the last creditable episode under Norman rule.

*Ai*1. 1206.—In 1204 Eleanor, John's aged mother, died; in 1205 Hubert Walter, Archbishop of Canterbury. They were his best friends, and might have saved disaster.

*Ai*2. *An intrigue of the monks of Canterbury.*—Barrow points out here that John's vacillating temperament was the source of all his woes. "Successively he passed from the most outrageous pliability to the most pig-headed obstinacy."

*Ai*3. *The monks of Christchurch.*—Napoleon calls it Christ's Convent. Reginald was then Sub-Prior, and his election might have been secured had he maintained the secrecy of his election inviolate while on his way to Rome. Carte points out that it was the young monks who had elected Reginald at midnight of the death-day of their Archbishop, before his body was cold. Meanwhile the monks heard of Reginald's indiscretion, and foreseeing his fate, elected in his place John de Grey, Bishop of Norwich. The Pope annulled both elections.

*Ai*4. *Langton*—was of English family, though educated at Paris. He was consecrated by the Pope at Viterbo.

*Ai*5. *John in a fury.*—He accused them of high treason, and

sent two knights to drive them out. The monks fled to Flanders, and the knights took possession of their property. John insisted on the election of the Bishop of Norwich, and declared that rather than endure the stranger Langton, he would close all the ports, and break off all communication with Rome.

*Ai*6. *Interdict.*—Barrow adds that thereby "divine service was suspended, the sacraments no longer administered, except Baptism and the Eucharist for the sick. The church gates were closed, and the dead were buried in ditches, or in the highways, without any of the usual religious observances." The Cistercians, in spite of the Interdict, continued to celebrate divine service, as did some of the Parish Churches, and the Bishops of Winchester and Norwich. It lasted six years—to 1214.

*Ai*7. *Bishop of London.*—He was supported by those of Worcester, Ely, Hereford, and Bath. John threatened that if they launched an interdict he would confiscate the property of the clergy, and if the Pope dared to send an Italian for the purpose he would send him back to Rome with his nose and ears cut off to serve as an example.

*Ai*8. *France.*—John was nominally at peace with France. The Emperor of Germany came to England to induce John to break the French truce. Our king refused, but gave him a present of five thousand marks, "which paid his travelling expenses" (*Rapin*).

*Ai*9. *The king was excommunicated.*—The difficulty was to get English clergy to run the risk of publishing the papal decree. Geoffrey, Archdeacon of Norwich and a Baron of the Exchequer, declared that incumbents were freed from all their obligations to the crown. John had him arrested and compelled him to wear a cape of lead, which killed him by its weight. Napoleon probably remembered this incident, and always told his intimates that when in Paris he felt weighed down as by a cloak of lead. It was the heavy tainted atmosphere of the salons, and the covert sneers of the do-nothings that choked his plans and deadened all impetus in 1815.

*Aj*1. *The Pope issued a Bull.*—The king of France was invited to seize his territories, and Llewellyn of Wales to invade him in England. Llewellyn had married a natural daughter of John. The bull was Langton's doing, and King John revenged himself

by cutting down the woods of the See of Canterbury. As a matter of fact, papal bulls were getting too common, and their terrors abating. Philip throve under his, and at this very time John's nephew, the Emperor Otho IV., was bearing his with equanimity.

*Ak*1. *Pandulph.*—While encouraging Philip to have his fleet of seven hundred ships (his naval armament had cost him sixty thousand pounds) and his army at Boulogne ready to embark, Pandulph sent two Knights Templars to John to prepare the way for pacification. Meanwhile John was not idle. Commerce had so increased under Richard I. that he was able to gather a far finer fleet than Philip—five hundred large ships, and eight hundred smaller ones. He also assembled sixty thousand men on Barham Downs. But Pandulph soon frightened John out of this warlike humour.

*Ak*2. *Dating from this time.*—William Longsword, Earl of Salisbury, and Renaud, Count of Boulogne, won a notable sea-fight at Damme and took three hundred French ships.

*Al*1. *A hermit.*—This was Peter of Pontefract. John flung him into prison at Corfe Castle. He was afterwards dragged to Wareham at a horse's tail, and hung. Yet strictly speaking, and as the prisoner pleaded, the prophecy had come true. John had given up his crown and sceptre, and received them back after five days from the legate, who had flung on the ground John's gift of money and put his foot upon it.

*Al*2. *Henry I.*—His charter was practically non-existent, but Stephen Langton unearthed a copy to the great delight of the barons. That of Edward the Confessor was also made use of.

*Al*3. *Seized London.*—Marching from Ware all night they arrived before Aldgate at dawn on a Sunday morning, the gates were opened, and they took possession of the city while most of the citizens were at church. The previous year (1214) Philip of France won his victory at Bouvines over the forces of Flanders, Germany, and England, 120,000 strong—one of the greatest battles of the Middle Ages.

*Al*4. *Magna Carta.*—Barrow's account is rather full, and it is interesting to note what clauses Napoleon finds unnecessary to copy out: (1) that every man (and merchant) is free to go out of the kingdom at his pleasure, save in time of war; (2) that

the temporal peers should retain the custody of the vacant abbeys and monasteries of which they were patrons; (3) that the barons should enjoy the wardship of their military sub-tenants in cases where the latter held no Crown lands under a different lease; (4) that every knight created by the king, even though a minor, shall enjoy all the privileges of majority provided he be under the guardianship of the Crown, but if the knightly dignity be conferred on a baron's ward, this baron shall not lose the benefit of his wardship; (5) that it shall be unlawful to sell the property of minors, and that guardians shall not draw exorbitant profits for the lands for which they are responsible; that they shall not depreciate them, but shall keep the houses in good repair, keep the farms well stocked, and not permit their wards to contract unsuitable alliances. Weirs on rivers were abolished, and, save where precedent allowed it, no man or town was compelled to build a new bridge. Another quaint but necessary clause was that no man shall be imprisoned on a woman's word, save for the death of her own husband.

*Am*1. *Patrimonial possessions.*—"Lay tenements" (*Carte*, &c.).

*Am*2. *Widows.*—Heiresses could not previously marry without consent of their feudal lords.

*Am*3. *Governors of castles.*—"Castellans" (*Carte*).

*Am*4. *Levied on his landed estate.*—Napoleon quotes Barrow with exactitude, but Barrow is not quite correct. The bailiffs might *eventually* seize a debtor's lands, but only in the last extremity, and until the debt was paid.

*Am*5. *Implements of his trade.*—In the case of a farm-labourer the old word for these was *wainage*. At this period Hume considers the farm-labourers the most numerous body of men in the country.

*An*1. *Slain a wild beast.*—"No man henceforth shall lose life or limb for taking venison" (Clause XI. of the Carta).

Many of the clauses of the Forest Charter are very interesting as showing the needs of the people. In future each freeman could make mills and ponds in his own woods, keep his own hawks there, and have the honey in the trees, and even leave his hogs one night in the royal forests. There are regulations for cutting the dogs' claws, which dwelt in the forest, every three years. The gleaners of the forest were in future to pay no tolls

for right of way (cheminage), and even the man in the moon might now safely follow his Sunday avocations in peace. *Vert*, *i.e.* the cutting of the greenwood, was still punishable by the verderers and foresters.

*An*2. *The Pope*—incited by Pandulph, was incensed against the barons, and swore by St. Peter that they should be punished. Langton had to go to Rome to explain his conduct, but fared very badly; and his election of his useless brother Simon as Archbishop of York was cancelled by the Pope.

The barons ignored the Pope's hard and imperious letter.

*An*3. *Forty thousand men.*—So says Barrow. John had hired at Calais a new army of mercenaries under Hubert of Beauvais, with which to fight the barons. Not a soul was saved.

There are not many historians who have a good word for King John—"the trifler and coward" who made England by losing Normandy. Barrow, however, points out that he showed administrative capacity in the privileges he accorded to the Cinque Ports, and in the rules he made for always having a fleet ready for emergencies. He also instituted the municipal laws of London and of other large towns, restored the coinage of the realm, and made the English law accepted in Ireland. Sir Edward Coke points out that he was the first English king to use "we" for "I."

According to Macaulay the history of the English nation dates from Magna Carta, and this Chapter's Notes can hardly be better concluded than with his portrayal of this epoch. "The sources of the noblest rivers which spread fertility over continents, and bear richly laden fleets to the sea, are to be sought in wild and barren mountain tracks, incorrectly laid down in maps, and rarely explored by travellers. To such a track the history of our country during the thirteenth century may not inaptly be compared. Sterile and obscure as is that portion of our annals, it is there that we must seek for the origin of our freedom, our prosperity, and our glory. Then it was that the great English people was formed, that the national character began to exhibit those peculiarities which it has since retained, and that our fathers became emphatically *islanders*, islanders not merely in geographical position, but in their politics, their feelings, and their manners."

NOTES TO HENRY III

"The reign of Henry III. is not only one of the longest, but one of the most difficult in English history."—STUBBS, "Early Plantagenets."

"The first forty years are, on the whole, the dreariest time in our history. No time of so great a length has so few events which stand out as prominent landmarks."—FREEMAN, *Encyclopædia Britannica.*

IN comparing Barrow's History of this reign with Napoleon's Notes we are struck, more than in any previous reign, by Napoleon's callousness at this period for the glory of France and by his intense Rousseau-begotten leaning towards Republicanism. The French victories over King Henry during the Tailleburg campaign are ignored completely; so, by the way, are the splendid life and deeds of Hubert de Burgh—a much finer character in Barrow's opinion than Simon de Montfort. Napoleon, however, ignores all his author's gibes and sneers at Montfort, and holds him up as a saviour of his country. Dating from the French Revolution all European historians learn a new language, in which usually kings are translated tyrants and traitors patriots. Of this school Napoleon's Note-Book is the first in date, and (time, place, and circumstance considered) probably unsurpassed in interest.

A 1. *The Pope's prohibition.*—Langton was in disgrace at Rome, and it was the support of Gualo, the Papal legate, that alone assured Henry's succession.

A 2. *Sandwich.*—This town, as one of the Cinque Ports, was burnt to the ground by Louis. The sailors of the five ports had opposed his passage and inflicted great loss. These brave sailors maintained the reputation of English sea-power throughout the reign. Under Hubert de Burgh they defeated the corsair, Eustace the Monk, bringing reinforcements to Louis after the battle of Lincoln. This defeat forced Louis to return to France.

*B*1. *The nation refused.*—This was in 1229. It was old Ranulf, Earl of Chester, who headed the opposition to Pope Gregory IX.

*C*1. *Married a Frenchwoman.*—Eleanor of Provence was a devoted wife, a good mother, but a somewhat domineering queen. Professor Tout compares her to Henrietta Maria for her baleful influence over the king, much to the latter queen's disadvantage. It seems, however, unfair to call the daughter of Henry of Navarre frivolous. Napoleon, moreover, had an undisguised contempt for Saint Louis, whom the same writer calls "the strongest king who had ever as yet reigned in France."

*C*2. *Subsidies*—to enable the king's brother Richard, Earl of Cornwall, to conduct the French war (1225). The Earl remained in Guienne till 1227.

*D*1. *Peter*—de Roches, Bishop of Winchester, had, after a sixteen years' struggle, succeeded in degrading the Grand Justiciary, Hubert de Burgh, who was accused of casting spells over the king and sending to Prince Edward a gem, purloined from the royal treasure, which rendered him invulnerable. "It seldom happens," says Rapin, "that a favourite falls easy"; Hubert sought sanctuary in vain, and was brought to prison as a criminal with his legs tied beneath his horse's belly.[1] Curiously enough all mention of Hubert is here lacking in the Note-Book. But Peter's own fall was not long delayed. He had brought over two thousand knights from Gascony and Poictiers, and put them into all the vacant posts of any value. In direct violation of the Charter these newcomers had the charge of minors regulated among themselves, whereby the native-born English suffered. Richard, Earl of Pembroke, expostulated with the king, but was rebuked by the prelate, whereupon the Barons made themselves felt. They held among them at this time some eleven hundred and fifteen castles.

*D*2. *To drive the king himself.*—When the Barons learned that fresh swarms of foreigners, armed to the teeth, were pouring into the country, they sent word to request the Bishop of Winchester's expulsion, failing which they would have to drive out the king himself and to find some prince more worthy of bearing

[1] Having given up to the king his own fortune, which was in the custody of the Templars, Hubert was forgiven.

the British sceptre (*Barrow*). Peter of Winchester, himself a Crusader, bade the king defy his rebel barons and trust to the levies from Poictiers and Gascony, his colonial troops. The English barons and clergy, however, combined against the Bishop of Winchester. Matters drag on a further two years, till the Archbishop of Canterbury accuses Bishop Peter and his friends as the cause of all the country's ill, and excommunicates all of them. Being beloved by the Pope, the Bishop of Winchester is allowed to go to Rome, where he henceforward commands the Papal levies.

*E*1. *The Bishop of Chichester.*—Napoleon's arrangement of this paragraph is far better than Barrow's treatment of the subject, being less confused. The Bishop was Ralph Neville, Lord Chancellor, a man of high character and attainments.

*F*1. *The bad use—i.e.* catering for the Provençaux and Savoyards who had come over with his queen.

*F*2. *Bishop of Valence*—maternal uncle of the king's wife, Eleanor of Provence. He fled to France, but soon afterwards returned and resumed office. He asked for a Papal legate, and Otho was appointed. When Peter of Winchester died in 1238, Henry wished William of Valence to succeed him; but the monks, knowing alike his sanguinary temper and his want of learning, elected Ralph Neville, Bishop of Chichester, a prelate of blameless reputation. The king tried every way to get his own favourite elected, and finally obtained the help of the Pope; but although Valence became bishop, he died the next year.

*G*1. *Henry again asked for subsidies—i.e.* to fight Louis of France respecting Poitou. He eventually gained his point, obtained a subsidy, taxed Ireland and his clergy, and sailed for the Gironde with three hundred knights and thirty hogsheads of cash. By marrying his daughter Margaret to the son of the King of Scotland he assured security to the North. Even Louis the Pious was so incensed at the declaration of war that he caused all the effects of English merchants in France to be seized. John at least had left us a fleet, and that desperate disease—atrophied sea-power—required from France, both in 1242 and in 1803, a desperate remedy. Henry throughout his land campaign was outnumbered and out-generalled and his troops repeatedly beaten. It says much for Napoleon's hatred of France and love of England

at this time that he omits all mention of this campaign. In 1243 Henry made a truce with Louis, and on his return to London expected the people to accord him a triumphant reception.

*H*1. *Proposed to establish a King's Privy Council*—or, to be more accurate, a council of *four* (*Barrow*), with power to inspect the treasure and to administer the public funds—of these four the Justiciar and Chancellor should always be two. Parliament was also to nominate a special judge for the Jews.

*I*1. *The Barons.*—They would hardly have taken so bold a step had not the Papacy been under a cloud and the Pope an exile from Rome. The Nuncio wished to know the Barons' authority for their insolent message, and the Barons' deputy replied that they spoke in the voice of the whole nation, and if Master Martin, the Nuncio, was not out of the kingdom within three days he might expect to be torn to pieces.

*I*2. *The Council of Lyons.*—The deputation to the Pope expressed themselves with great boldness, and the Pontiff found it desirable to postpone his verdict. Finally, he wrote to the clergy in England to confirm once more the Charter in which John made submission to the Pope. This they were weak enough to do, thereby enraging the Barons and even the king himself.

*J*1. *His jewels and plate.*—The king was specially mortified to find that the city of London, which had refused him loans, could so soon find money to buy his plate. He soon made them pay dearly for thus disclosing their affluence.

*K*1. *The City of London.*—England, on the whole, was prospering under Henry's rule. Henry, however, loved to bleed his capital of its superfluous wealth. The Bishop's servants having helped a prisoner to escape from Newgate, the king fined London three thousand marks as a punishment, and this after having just received great presents from it.

*L*1. *Thus may every violator.*—Barrow adds an eulogy of these old pageants. "The solemnity of this ceremony is a fruitful source of reflection for every Englishman. There is no kind of ritual or formulary invented by the human mind which our wise ancestors did not utilise in order to charge their kings, by their every attribute of their reason as men, by their piety as Christians, by their honour and integrity as monarchs, to observe inviolate the articles of this sacred depository of our laws and constitutions."

Professor Grant ("The French Monarchy," vol. i. p. 149) gives an interesting companion picture in the reign of the *French* Henry III.: "On January 10, 1589, there was a large procession of children to the Church of St. Geneviève. All carried tapers, and at a given signal extinguished them, crying, "Thus may God extinguish the race of the Valois."

*M*1. *The Lord High Treasurership—lit.* the Lord High Treasurer. For once Barrow is not only more luminous, but more concise. "The Barons promised him this subsidy on condition that the two Charters should be punctually observed, and that the Lord High Treasurer should be chosen by Parliament without being dependent on the royal authority." The king was unfit to control money or patronage. One of his favourites, the clergyman Mansel, enjoyed seven hundred ecclesiastical preferments at once. The income of strangers in the land was three times that of the royal revenue.

*N*1. *Provisions of Oxford.*—The opening clause was as usual, that the king should confirm the great Charter which he had so often before sworn to observe (*Barrow*). Another clause was that the death penalty should follow disobedience to the decrees of the twenty-four, who moreover were to have charge of the castles.

*N*2. *Capacity and integrity*—"in order," adds Barrow, "that justice might be meted out without distinction to poor and rich alike."

*N*3. *Thrice a year.*—So the Annals of Burton, viz. (1) eight days after Michaelmas, (2) the morrow after Candlemas Day, and (3) on June 1st.

*O*1. *The Court party—i.e.* the foreign element which the Barons were determined to expel. A clause was inserted in the Statute by which the former should give up their castles, and this was of course resented, especially by Aymer de Lusignan, Bishop of Winchester, the head of the Court party. Finally, the strangers agreed to leave the country if their incomes were secured to them. As soon as they were safely out of the country the Barons (like the Allies with Napoleon at Elba) broke their pledges and refused to send the money due, and became far more tyrannous than the king and his friends had ever been.

*O*2. *Simon de Montfort.*—Napoleon himself evolves the merits

of Montfort; Barrow by no means encourages eulogium. After all, the rebel was the king's own brother-in-law, and personal ambition and his own safety were at the root of every action. So far back as 1239 he had acted as godfather to the infant Edward. Barrow tells this characteristic story from Matthew Paris. Henry, overtaken by a storm in his barge on the Thames, took refuge in Durham House, where Leicester found him trembling at the danger he had just escaped. "What!" said Montfort, "is your Majesty still afraid of a storm that is over?" Henry replied gravely, "Montfort, I confess I am afraid of thunder; but," added he with an oath,[1] "I fear you more than all the thunders in the universe." The death of Richard of Gloucester soon after still further strengthened Montfort.

03. After various vicissitudes.—The reign of the twenty-four Barons had become unbearable; the English clergy at the Synod of Merton had tried to aggrandise themselves; the Pope takes Henry's side against both, and frees him from all his oaths to the Provisions of Oxford. Prince Edward alone refuses to break his word. Louis is asked to act as arbitrator between the king and his Barons; but the award is set aside by the latter, as being, as Barrow points out, a manifest contradiction. Louis annuls the Provisions of Oxford, but confirms the previous Acts, such as Magna Carta. The Barons declared that the Provisions were to confirm these very Acts.

P1. Battle of Lewes.—Before this battle sea-power had injured the royal army. The Barons, who held the Cinque Ports, had put to sea and intercepted all supplies from the Continent. The battle was mainly lost by Edward's vengeance on the Londoners who had so lately tried to stone his mother as she was being rowed under London Bridge. About five thousand fell on either side. Still the Barons' victory was by no means complete, and Montfort made fair terms with Edward, which, however, the former did not act up to. Montfort was now a "greater despot than had ever been seen in England" (*Barrow*). He gave the monopoly of the wool trade, our only export, to his son Henry; he encouraged the Cinque Ports by piracy to prevent all trade with the Continent (but mulcted them of one-third of their spoils), and when expostulated with, he replied that "the kingdom could

[1] "Per caput Dei."

well enough subsist within itself, and needed no intercourse with foreigners."

*P*2. *The people admitted into Parliament.*—Two knights from each shire and two citizens from every town or borough. They were all as yet devoted to the Barons, and in fact towns hostile to Montfort were apparently not asked to send delegates. The atrocious bad faith of the Barons to Henry and Edward after the Mise of Lewes is ignored by Napoleon, who perhaps considered it fit recompense for a king with a bad record of his own. Montfort probably founded his Parliament on the plan of the Spanish Cortes, which had been in vogue a century, and which would certainly be well known to his father (*Ranke*). Of the word Parliament, Freeman (*Ency. Brit.*) says: "The name is a translation of an old English phrase. The Conqueror is said in the English Chronicle to have had 'very deep speech' with the Witan. This deep speech, in Latin *colloqium*, in French *parlement*, was the distinguishing feature of a meeting between king and people; in the end it gave its name to the assembly itself."

*Q*1. *Three Commissioners.*—As the Bishop of Chichester was entirely subservient to Leicester, all power was in the hands of the latter (*Hume*).

*R*1. *The Parliament*—of 1265 was "the model Parliament, the assembly whose pattern in its essential features set the standard which was in the end followed, and which has lasted till our own time" (Freeman, *Ency. Brit.*).

*S*1. *Thus perishes one of England's greatest men.*—This is entirely Napoleon's verdict, not that of Barrow, who supplies little material for this panegyric. The death scene is well told, and includes Montfort's oft-quoted cry of admiration and anguish when he saw the banners of Gloucester and Mortimer advance: "By the arm of St. James, these men march like perfect warriors. It is not of themselves, but from me that they have learnt this discipline. God have mercy on our souls, for our bodies are doomed to destruction." Here is Barrow's verdict: "Thus perished the Earl of Leicester, and with him a conspiracy which would have entirely ruined the laws and liberties of England if success had smiled on his ambitious projects." Hume calls Montfort a "bold and artful conspirator." Napoleon's shrewd comment is in full accord with the imperishable renown which, according to Ranke,

Sir Simon the Righteous assured for himself. Green speaks of him as "the great patriot." Goldwin Smith quotes the hymn in his honour :—

"Salve, Simon Montis Fortis,
Totius flos militiæ!
Pœnas duras passus mortis,
Protector Gentis Angliæ!"

Freeman (*Ency. Brit.*) sums up his character in words which every Frenchman might apply to Napoleon himself: "Suspected at first as a foreigner, the Earl grows up into the truest of Englishmen. A reformer from the beginning, he gradually widens his basis till he becomes, above all men, the leader of the people." This historian compared him to Gladstone, and Disraeli to Flambard, the bad genius of William Rufus. Stubbs, writing to Freeman, calls Montfort a "buccaneering old Gladstone," thus adding the unique adjective.

Barrow (or perhaps his eloquent French translator) shows how all through this reign English commerce, practically unknown at this time to the rest of Europe, had replenished the losses of civil war and Papal exactions. "It is this admirable spirit of industry, preferable to the mines of Mexico and Peru, which led the English to make their commerce flourish anew in order to repair the losses caused by intestine troubles!"

Barrow sums up the character of Henry III. with little sympathy: "He was a prince without talents, irresolute, inconstant, capricious, arrogant in prosperity and abject in adversity. . . . He is to be praised for his good morals and absence of cruelty, and was a good father and a good husband." These four virtues had not hitherto been conspicuous in Norman or Plantagenet.

*T*1. *The Italian clergy.*—Equally vexatious were the Italian merchants let loose in 1255 by the Bishop of Hereford on the English prelates with bills aggregating a hundred and fifty thousand marks for the help the merchants were supposed to have given in the Sicilian war (*Hume*).

*T*2. *The people revolted.*—A young and brave knight, Robert de Twang, was, under the *alias* of W. Wither, their leader.

Secret societies were formed, of one of which the seal was two swords (*Carte*).

U1. Three hundred of the best livings.—"As they became vacant" is in Barrow, but omitted by Napoleon. All this paragraph is culled out of its chronological order, and put together by Napoleon at the end of Henry's reign.

U2. Being suspended—i.e. from their rights of patronage (*Barrow*). Edmund, Archbishop of Canterbury, preferred to retire to France and die in a monastery there rather than have lot or part in such a business.

U3. To pay a fine—or "at the cost of money" (*Barrow*). The Crusades were degenerating into an ingenious form of clerical *scutage*, which had also the novelty of being compulsory.

V1. A thirty marks' annuity—"at least," says Barrow, who adds: "To the tyranny of this Bull, Martin added, moreover, the most unbearable insolence. All the clergy who refused to flatter his vanity were suspended, and he excommunicated all those who were not inclined to be pauperised by him."

W1. These little serpents.—This refers to the Barons who had ejected his Nuncio (see Note 1 "the Barons").

X1. All wealth acquired by fraud—"provided the legitimate owner was not known" (*Barrow*). The Pope had just taxed the clergy for three years eighty thousand marks per annum, equal to all the specie at that time in the kingdom.

X2. Hesitation was shown—by the Barons. It was the Bishops who threatened an Interdict, supported by Henry's brother Richard, who, having been bribed by the Pope, coerced the king. Rapin shrewdly observes that "King John lost himself by too vigorously opposing the Pope; and Henry, by making himself his slave."

Y1. He appealed to the Pope.—Alexander granted his prayer at once; but on his dying immediately afterwards, Henry had to await a Bull from the new Pope, which was freely accorded. To the king's astonishment, Prince Edward was highly indignant at this evasion of an oath.

Z1. Dead and living patriots.—*Patriots* is Napoleon's significant substitute for partisans. What Barrow says is that the legate was charged with different Bulls by Clement IV., which confirmed those of his predecessor against the Earl of Leicester and

his partisans, excommunicated them alive or dead, and put their lands under an interdict.

It is interesting to note how the Barons' Wars and the first germs of the Great Council of the Nation are connected with the contemporary dumping of foreign imports—bankers and otherwise. The Papacy, in its life and death struggle with the Hohenstaufen, naturally turned to its wealthiest "vassal," as Innocent IV. called England. To entangle Henry with continental affairs his brother was made King of the Romans and his son King of Sicily, the latter as an exchange for taking up Pope Alexander's debts with the foreign bankers sent to England for the purpose. The King was delighted, but the Barons disgusted. For the first time since the Conquest was evoked the insular spirit of England, which henceforth "manifested itself in a natural opposition to all foreign influence."

Hume seems to have thought that had Henry been a worse man he might have been a better king. In his sayings, however, Henry sometimes displayed shrewdness. He said he preferred an hour's converse with a friend to hearing twenty sermons in his honour. In 1255, when remonstrated with by the Primate and the Bishops of Salisbury, Winchester, and Carlisle for irregular exactions and uncanonical and forced elections of prelates, he replied: "It is true I have been somewhat faulty in this particular. I obtruded you, my Lord of Canterbury, upon your See; I was obliged to employ both entreaties and menaces, my Lord of Winchester, to have you elected; my proceedings, I confess, were very irregular, my lords of Salisbury and Carlisle, when I raised you from the lowest stations to your present dignities. I am determined henceforth to correct these abuses; and it will also become you, in order to make a thorough reformation, to resign your present benefices and try to enter again in a more regular and canonical manner" (*Matthew Paris*). Green shrewdly remarks, "There was a certain refinement in Henry's temper which won him affection even in the worst days of his rule."

NOTES TO EDWARD I

"The reign of Edward which thus began is one of the most memorable in the whole course of English history. It is more than an accident that he was the first king since the Conquest who bore one of the ancient kingly names."[1] Before the Conquest there had been three Edwards, so that, strictly speaking, he was Edward IV. In 1272 he was fighting in Palestine, on ground afterwards to be memorable in the life of Napoleon. From Acre, now since Richard's time the jumping-off place of the Crusaders, he had advanced ten leagues to Nazareth, which he captured, and where he afterwards is said to have slain eight thousand men in a battle. The battle of Nazareth in 1799 was Junot's masterpiece, where with five hundred men he defeated three thousand Turks. To Napoleon all Junot's future blunders were condoned by this battle. Edward had brought with him the renown due to one of Plantagenet race, and the King of Cyprus gave help to the successor of Richard, which he had refused to that of Godfrey.

On his way back Edward heard at the same time of the death of his father and of his first-born son, John. He received the latter with equanimity, but was terribly grieved at the former. This astounded his courtiers; but he told them that the loss of a son could easily be made good, while the death of a father was irreparable (*Barrow*). Noble words; and of a still higher order of merit was Napoleon's own conduct when in 1810 the lives of wife and child (the heir so long desired) were at stake. "Save the mother," was the stern reply, when the trembling doctor came for orders.

On his coronation day Edward is said to have caused five hundred horses to be let loose, to be the property of such as could catch them. Later he gave one of his best hunters to his washer-

[1] E. A. Freeman in *Encyclopædia Britannica*.

woman, on condition she could successfully compete in a race on it.[1]

The Saxon name of Edward, which now first appears among the monarchs of a united England, is always associated with beauty of person—whether we think of the silver-haired Hammer of the Scots, still towering armoured but erect under the weight of seventy summers, or whether we recall Millais' haunting face of the beautiful boy on the Tower stairs. It is interesting to note that as Edward was crossing Lombardy on his way from Acre to take possession of the heritage of England, he should be welcomed in the midst of a foreign land with cries of "Long live Edward, the Emperor."

*A*1. *Statute of Gloucester.*—To test the validity of Baronial encroachments, Commissioners were sent forth with that double-edged weapon, a writ Quo Warranto. It caused nearly as great excitement in 1278 in country castles as it did some four hundred years later in the court-houses of the cities. Edward's tact saved a revolution in the first case; James's tyranny precipitated one in the second.

*B*1. *At the Parliament of Westminster.*—Strictly speaking, it was at Winchester that this was done. Timber had been recklessly cut down so as to afford less covert for outlaws. No tree or hedge was allowed within two hundred feet on either side of the highroads between market towns.

*B*2. *Statutes of Westminster—i.e.* the Second Statutes of Westminster (1255), which comprise the Law of Entails. The first were in 1275, and were almost a Code in themselves.

*C*1. *Parliament refused.* — Edward had been three years in Guienne—ever asking for more money. The Earl of Gloucester, acting as spokesman of the House, declared that the king should not have a shilling till he came to ask for it himself in their midst.

*D*1. *The punishment of David.*—As expedient an execution as that later by Napoleon of the Duc d'Enghien, and with equally awe-inspiring results. "A man hanged," says Montluc in his grim Commentaries, "astonishes more than a hundred killed."

[1] This is Professor Tout's catch, and, like a wise angler, he does not say out of which hole in the river of history he has landed it.

The summing up of Edward's character in the *Encyclopædia Britannica* might indeed (with the substitution of Italy or Belgium for Scotland) have been written of Napoleon: "His harsh manner of attaining his end, and the cruel punishments he executed on those who thought to thwart his efforts, may be excused partly on account of the times in which he lived, and partly as arising from the just vexation of a stern and eager nature; and they are somewhat counterbalanced by the righteousness and clemency with which he governed Scotland at the periods when it was under his rule." David's death, however, was not that of a soldier, but that of a traitor; and his body was the first recorded in history to have been quartered. Rapin censures Edward severely. "Supposing the rigour of the law authorised a sentence of death, was it not very barbarous to execute a prince of a royal family in a manner till then unusual with regard to persons of illustrious birth? What would not these historians have said, if a king of France, after taking in fight a brother of the King of England, had ordered him to be ignominiously hung on a gibbet? or if, finding the body of the king himself slain in battle, he had caused his head (as Llewellyn's was, crowned with ivy, on the walls of the Tower) to be placed on the walls of the Bastille?"

Carte takes Edward's side, and accuses David of the blackest ingratitude and treachery. The seizure of Hawarden Castle and the murder of all therein certainly deserved condign punishment.

D2. A Province of the Kingdom—but governed separately. It was not welded into the British Constitution till the days of Henry VIII. (1536).

E1. Philip the Bold.—It was Napoleon's knowledge of French history which enabled him to note this. All Barrow says is, "Margaret of France, daughter of the late king." Barrow, however, is fuller in his details of the proposed match, *e.g.* "the son which should issue from this match should enjoy Guienne, *after the death of his father*" (italicised words not in the Note-Book), "and his after him, but if he had no children, the province should revert to the English crown." All this is Matthew of Westminster's version of the loss of Guienne, probably the official one. Rapin, working on Walsingham, gives a

much more elaborate deception on the part of France, in which two queens, Mary of Brabant, mother of the supposititious *fiancée*, and Joanna of Navarre, the reigning queen, play a part comparable to the Machiavelian mendacity of Catherine de Medicis and our own Queen Elizabeth, with Mary of Scotland for their common foe. Edward's marriage only took place in 1299.

E2. The King of France kept Guienne.—He would not even give Edward a safe-conduct to France to conclude his marriage. Bayonne seems to have been the only town left in England's possession.

E3. The War which was kindled. — Contrary winds prevented the English king crossing. The south-west wind which has fought for England so often in summer time was absent, and east winds blew this year (1294) from early summer to near the middle of September. In 1295 Philip meditated an invasion of England. 1296.—This year Hume tells us "the famous mercantile society, called the Merchant Adventurers, had its first origin : it was instituted for the improvement of the woollen manufacture, and the vending of the cloth abroad, particularly at Antwerp, for the English at this time hardly thought of any more distant commerce." In the cities of Flanders had arisen manufacturing populations which supplied the countries around with the product of the loom. To the Ghent and Bruges of the Middle Ages, England stood in the same relation as that which the Australian colonies hold to the Leeds and Bradford of our own day (*Gardiner and Mullinger*).

F1. The crew—so Matthew of Westminster. Rapin, following the Chronicle of Dunstable, mentions *the pilot* only as hung. A Norman pilot had just been killed at Bayonne. He had quarrelled with an English sailor as to precedence in drinking at a well, and in the struggle which ensued fell on his own knife and killed himself (*Carte*).

G1. The English Navy.—Edward manned three fleets, one for the North Sea, one for the Channel, one for the Irish Sea. They first ravaged Normandy and burnt Cherbourg, and captured twenty Spanish vessels, which they brought into Sandwich. Thereupon the French manned a fine fleet, and nearly captured Dover by surprise. The nation as usual rallied to the needs of the Navy, and granted Edward an ample subsidy to man a fleet of three

hundred and fifty sail (*Barrow*). A wine fleet of a hundred and forty ships (Carte says two hundred) fell in with sixty English warships and was badly mauled. The King of France was so incensed that he seized all the British and Irish ships, whereupon Edward ordered all the goods of French merchants in Ireland to be seized. What English history pardons to her Justinian becomes an unpardonable crime in Napoleon when we had forced a rupture after Amiens. Yet Napoleon had the excuse of inferior sea-power.

H1. The Parliament. — "In 1295, Parliament had assumed the complete form which it has never since lost, comprising lords spiritual and temporal, knights of the shire and representatives of the cities and boroughs" (*Gardiner and Mullinger*).

I1. 1291.—This date, says Freeman, closes best the first part of Edward's reign. We now enter on the Scotch complication, the French war, the Barons' contumacy, Papal opposition—in a word, the strenuous declining years of a great king whose best work was done.

I2. Into the hands of Edward. — There is little to choose in equity between Edward's conduct in Scotch affairs and Napoleon's in Spain. Buchanan declares that Edward himself instigated the claimants to vie, in order to confuse the issue. Carte considers Edward's choice of Balliol fair and unbiassed. Freeman points out that all three competitors were essentially English barons, in spite of their royal Scotch ancestry on the distaff side.

I3. Balliol . . . leagued himself with the King of France.— Having, as usual in such cases, got a quittance for past lying from the Pope (see note *P1*).

I4. Defeated by Edward.—Thanks to sea-power. Edward, following the good old custom of our Viking ancestors, always if possible hugged the sea with his army, while his navy hugged the shore hard by. In this case it was the fleet of the Cinque Ports. It sailed up the river Tweed, but got so hot a reception from the Scots that it had to retire with the loss of several ships.

I5. To cede his Rights. — His personal humiliation began in Strickathoe Cemetery, and ended at Brechin Castle, where he resigned "himself, his crown, his rank, and his private property into the hands of the conqueror, who sent him under strong

guard to England. The great seal of Scotland was broken," and all the archives of the kingdom were ordered by Edward to be destroyed (*Barrow*).

I6. Berwick.—"The key of the two kingdoms" (*Rapin*).

J1. The Barons.—Led by the Earl Marshal (Bigod of Norfolk) and the High Constable (Bohun, Earl of Hereford).

K1. Wallace.—"A man of gigantic stature, and of incredible strength" (*Barrow*). William the Welshman (*i.e.* Wallace) was the Palafox of the Scottish War.

K2. Battle of Stirling.—Usually called *Cambuskenneth*. Cressingham, the treasurer of Scotland, appointed by Edward, was killed. He was so hated that the Scotch tanned his skin for saddles and girths.

K3. Falkirk.—A battle largely won by the personal valour of King Edward himself, who on the night before the battle had been trodden on by his horse and had two ribs broken. The Scots loss is sometimes given at sixty thousand. They never had so serious a beating before or after.

K4. 13,000 *men.* — Apparently a mistake. Barrow says "about twelve thousand."

L1. Taken by Monteith and suffered. — Monteith had been bribed by the English. Wallace was dragged to execution at a horse's tail, and his head set up on London Bridge (*Rapin*). This and Edward's punishment of the Scottish Revolt in 1306–7 are the only exceptions to his general clemency in the war.

N1. Countess of Buchan.—Captured by Edward in 1306; she was punished by being exhibited in a wooden cage as a ridiculous show on the walls of Berwick Castle (*Rapin*). Carte shows that Wallace's inhuman cruelties merited his punishment, while his treason, as a native of Galloway, merited his death.

N2. King Edward died.—Barrow gives him rather less justice, and concludes with a homily which (according to popular conceptions) might have proved very good advice for Napoleon himself. "With all his excellent qualities he allowed himself to be carried away by the violence of his ambition. This fatal passion, which bases itself on the supposition that all means are permissible to extend the kingly power and to insure the happiness of his subjects; this passion, I say, tarnishes the glory of this prince, and dims his laurels." Rapin writes sententiously that concern-

ing the Scotch War "it is difficult, not to say impossible, to speak in a manner satisfactory to the English and Scots." Carte gives unqualified praise to Edward in every relation of life, public and private. "Superior to any man of the age in the art of war, having never been defeated in any action." Hallam loses his temper, and declares that Carte has "vilely perverted" Edward's home government. After his first wife's death in 1290, Edward's character changed for the worse, as troubles gathered and old friends died. Of his eighteen children, only five survived him.

*P*1. *A dispensation from his Oath.* — This was obtained through Balliol's new ally, Philip of France (*Rapin*).

*Q*1. *The Pope forbade the Archbishop of Canterbury.* — York, as often before and since, showed more national spirit, and granted the king a subsidy. Rapin shows that Edward wanted the money to subsidise a European coalition against Philip, whose side the Pope took. The coalition as usual came to nothing, while England paid for it. Carte remarks that German alliances especially proved of little use. The merchants of England agreed for three years to an export duty of five marks per last of leather and per sack of fine wool, and three marks on common wool, being a wool tax of about thirty-three per cent. *ad valorem*. The merchants of Ireland offered the same, but the king let them off with one mark per last or sack.

*Q*2. *Heavy amends.*—The clergy of the south were outlawed, and the judges were ordered to protect their enemies, but to leave them at the people's pleasure. They were starved and robbed, and soon brought to submission. Any layman meeting one of the clergy with a better horse could compel him to exchange.

Edward's retort to their complaint was that if they did not pay their proportion of the State's taxes, they had neither lot nor part in its protection. The treatment accorded to Longfellow's "Robert of Sicily" was pleasantness and the paths of peace compared to that borne by the clergy for the next few months, till they sued for the king's mercy. They were left at the people's pleasure, but the actions of the latter were, by the king's orders, condoned by the judges.

*S*1. *Winchelsea.*—Archbishop since 1294. A strong churchman "Winchelsea wished to be a second Langton; Edward was not, and was incapable of becoming, a second John" (*Stubbs*).

For nearly ten years the king had to bear the plots and priestly opposition of the barons and clergy, instigated by Winchelsea, but the moment he was strong enough he exiled the Archbishop for ever, with the words, "We know thy craft, thy subtlety, thy treachery, and thy treason."

82. A Tithe.—Barrow reads: "The tithe of all the ecclesiastical revenues for three years, on condition that the proceeds should be divided between the King and His Holiness."

71. A hundred thousand pounds. — Partly in cash, and the rest in jewels and plate. Part was found in London later on. Circumstantial evidence against the monks was very strong.

NOTES TO EDWARD II

Rapin considers Edward II. to have been "more weak than wicked," and very like his grandfather Henry III. Divine vengeance, he adds elsewhere, pursued not only Edward's actual murderers, but also his wife and Mortimer, and nearly all his son's children. "It is a shameful delusion in modern historians," says Hume, "to imagine that all the ancient princes who were unfortunate in their government were also tyrannical in their conduct." Stubbs, a century and a half later, considers also that Edward was "not vicious, but very foolish, idle, and obstinate."

*A*1. *Gaveston.*—Scarcely were his father's obsequies completed when Edward made Gaveston Regent of the kingdom, with power to fill up all vacancies, clerical and secular, while the king went to France to be married. The same year, however, the barons compelled Edward to banish Gaveston, who was sent by him to Ireland as Lord-Lieutenant (*Barrow*). He was soon recalled by Edward, and in 1311 was sent against Bruce, but fought no decisive battle.

*A*2. *Twelve Persons.*—Apparently the twenty-one Ordainers, of whom the recalled Archbishop Winchelsea was the chief.

*C*1. *Put to death.*—At Blacklow Hill, afterwards Gaversike. A Welshman was specially sent for to cut off his head. The king for a time was inconsolable.

*D*1. This paragraph is the *résumé* of eleven pages of Barrow in different parts of volume iv. It is excellently compressed. Barrow's translator, by the way, calls the party of Bruce *les Bruciens.*

*F*1. This paragraph comprises about four pages of Barrow.

*F*2. *The Templars.*—Founded 1118, confirmed by Council of Troyes, 1127, and its rules composed by Saint Bernard. They had become so fond of wine that to "drink like a Templar" had become a proverb. The great age of the Church Builders waxed

and waned with the sway of the Templars. The number of cathedrals, churches, and abbeys which had been built in the time of William Rufus had averaged two for each year of his reign. The proportion reached its maximum of five for each year in the reigns of Stephen and Henry II., falling steadily till in the reign of Edward III. (the reign following the abolition of the Templars) it had fallen to less than one, *i.e.* forty-eight in fifty-one years.

F3. Heresy.—Of which the Templars were accused, consisted of spitting upon the crucifix, treading it under foot, worshipping a wooden head with a large beard, &c. (*Barrow*).

F4. The Knights of Malta.—The "knights hospitalier," who had just taken the Isle of Rhodes and who had rendered great services against the Infidel (*Barrow*). The Barons, whose ancestors had given the Templars their estates, did not care to see them given to foreigners. They seized them themselves, and it was ten years before they would give them up.

H1. 1316.—Barrow (and therefore Napoleon) ignores the invasion of Ireland this year by Robert Bruce, of which there is an interesting summary in Carte. Famine was raging throughout the British Isles, owing to "continual and excessive rains which had corrupted the fruits of the ground and produced a mortality among the cattle." It was apparent that Bruce had squared the Lancaster party (then paramount in England) before he invaded Ireland, otherwise the English, "who being by their superior naval force masters of the sea," might stop his return, and thus starve him into submission to his foes. Without the English this in fact nearly happened, and the Scots had to live on dogs and horses before the remnant of them regained their own land. Two years later Robert Bruce was seriously defeated near Dundalk by John, Lord of Bermingham, and other English knights settled in Ireland.

H2. The Famine.—"The prisons were broken open and the criminals devoured by a famishing populace. The dead became the prey of the living. Men exhumed corpses from the tombs in order to pacify the ragings of hunger, and destitution became so terrible that women destroyed and ate their own offspring" (*Barrow*). It was death to brew beer, as the corn was necessary for bread (*Rapin*).

J1. Lancaster taken.—At Boroughbridge. He was exposed to view and held up to ridicule by the people, who called him *King Arthur*. Barrow's translator calls the rebels *mécontents;* Napoleon "l'élite des patriotes."

J2. Condemned to death.—Carte has no good word for Lancaster, but considers his death sentence, like that of Gaveston, cruel. He was mounted on a lean jade without a bridle, and decapitated by a Londoner about a mile out of Pontefract, with his face towards Scotland. The name of the martyr of Pomfret became, says Stubbs, a watchword of liberty, and "in the person of Henry IV. the heir of Lancaster swept from the throne the heir of Edward's unhappy traditions."

K1. Isabella—"could imagine no greater misfortune than having to live with her husband as his wife" (*Barrow*). Stubbs, however, insists that Edward had been a kind husband and father.

K2. Charles the Fair.—On war breaking out in 1324 the French king, on August 15, seized all the English he could find in France (about sixty thousand), with their ships and effects, and Edward did the same with Frenchmen and their ships and goods. These were both precedents for Napoleon's conduct at the rupture of the Treaty of Amiens.

K3. Young Edward—whose name was worth an army to her. Edward II.'s greatest blunder was in letting his son go to France with all powers as Ruler of the French Provinces. Once in the Queen's hands, she took good care not to part with him.

K4. The Elder Despenser.—After being beheaded and quartered, his body was thrown to dogs and his head exposed at Winchester (*Barrow*). Rapin says he was first hung up in his armour, without any trial.

L1. Merely Edward of Carnarvon.—Yet Mortimer and Isabella were afraid that the people might change. "They feared that sentiment of compassion so natural to Englishmen, even in favour of an unfortunate enemy" (*Barrow*). Rapin says the same thing of the English, yet in 1815 Napoleon was to trust to that sentiment in vain. Among other indignities the poor deposed king was shaved in an open field with cold water from a stinking ditch. The poor man said he would have warm water in spite of them, and shed a torrent of tears (*Rapin*).

NOTES TO EDWARD III

*A*1. *A Regency Council was appointed.*—Henry, Earl of Lancaster, had custody of the King. The Queen's debts (twenty thousand pounds) were paid, and she was allowed an annuity of the like amount, besides other perquisites, which together greatly diminished the young King's revenue.

*B*1. *Peace was concluded.*—Young Edward had met the invading Scots, near Stanhope Park, in Durham, and driven them back. Carte has an interesting note—mainly from Froissart—as to how these Scotch forays were conducted. "The Scotch were nimble, active, and hardy men, fit for a sudden invasion, and to bear any fatigues; they were all mounted, the better sort on good horses, the rest on little garrons; they were encumbered by no carriages, and brought with them scarce any provisions besides oatmeal, which they carried behind them in little bags, and which, being tempered with water and baked on small plates, served them for bread to eat with their flesh-meat. Of this last they had great plenty, by reason of the abundance of cattle fed in those northern parts, and they used to boil it in the skins of the beasts they killed; which, being stretched out upon stakes, served them for cauldrons."

Bruce was inclined to a solid peace, as he had an incurable complaint, and his mainstay, the Black Douglas, was under a vow to fight the Infidel. On the whole, the treaty was less honourable to England, but young Edward was persuaded by his mother and by her paramour Mortimer that he was heir presumptive to the crown of France. The English were foolish in giving up the Scotch crown and sceptre (*Barrow*) and Ragman's Roll: the Scots were sarcastic at the nuptials of the two children, David Bruce and Edward's seven-year-old sister Joan, whom they called in derision Joan Makepeace (*Rapin*).

*B*2. *Mortimer*—in spite of general prohibitions to the con-

trary, came to Salisbury with an armed force, broke open the doors, and threatened all present with death if they did not agree to his wishes. Luckily the Earl of Lancaster and others heard of Mortimer's march betimes, and did not attend.

*B*3. *A convicted criminal*—"a wretch, confined in the prisons, who, at the price of promised pardon and freedom, performed the office of executioner" (*Barrow*). The prison was the Marshalsea.

*B*4. 1330.—This year (June 15) was born the Black Prince. King Edward had married his second cousin, Philippa of Hainault, January 24, 1328. Edward was now seventeen years old, but the birth of his son seems to have given him a feeling of completed majority.

*B*5. *The scaffold*—at The Elms, later Tyburn, about a mile from London. His body was left two days on the public gibbet.

*C*1. *Halidon Hill.*—Robert Bruce had died in 1329. The English were at the top of the hill; the Scots, under the brother of the Black Douglas, at the bottom. Edward won the battle with mounted archers (*Barrow*). The number of Scots killed is a compromise; English writers of the period make the total thirty-seven thousand. Scots admit ten thousand. As a result Berwick was won for ever to the English crown (*Rapin*), but it was temporarily taken by the Scots in 1355 and in 1377. Early in the year a Scotch fleet had been defeated by one of English privateers, the first English naval victory of the reign. Prior to 1337 Edward had waged four successful campaigns against Scotland.

*D*1. 1340.—The war with France began in 1337. Edward found plenty of allies on the usual basis of paying for them. Even the Emperor of Germany, Louis of Bavaria, furnished troops on these lines. Philip of France avoided a general action, and Edward had to part with most of his allies on account of the expense (*Barrow*). The reason why Philip avoided a battle was because Robert of Naples, who passed for an astrologer, had warned him of a great defeat whenever he should meet in battle with the English (*Rapin*).

*D*2. *King of France.*—Edward quartered the French arms with those of England, and took for his motto "God and my right" (*Barrow*). The reason why the Flemings wished Edward

to assume this title was that they had advanced the Pope two million florins, and had bound themselves to forfeit it if ever they made war on the King of France (*Carte*).

D3. Battle of Blankenberg—generally called Sluys, each a little north of Bruges, and some three miles apart. Philip had four hundred ships,[1] manned by Normans, Picards, and Genoese. Our Admirals were Morley and Crabbe (*Barrow*), who secured the weather-gauge and the sun at their backs (*Hume*). The battle lasted from 10 A.M. to 7 P.M., won chiefly by the English archers, always "better than those of every other nation." Edward was slightly wounded, and he lost about four hundred men (*Barrow*). The English fleet was about three hundred ships. The ships grappled and fought without stirring. Even sailors were astounded at Edward's sea-craft (*Rapin*). "This glorious victory gave Edward the greatest reputation amongst European monarchs" (*Barrow*). In consequence of it, the troops of the allies poured in to him in greatly increased numbers, but of poor quality. They were in fact embarrassing. Edward had not received remittances from home, could not pay them, and had to borrow money at enormous usury, for which he had to leave Henry of Lancaster, Earl of Derby, in pawn, while he went home to raise funds (*Carte*). Returning to London this year, Edward arrived at the Tower of London by night, and found it absolutely unguarded (*Barrow*). He and his wife had been three years in the Low Countries, where had been born their sons Lionel (at Antwerp) and John (at Ghent).

E1. Except to Parliament—i.e. before his Peers, temporal and spiritual. He gained his point, and was reconciled to the king. He was said to have kept back the subsidies for the allies, who soon deserted Edward when money was not forthcoming. Just as later we shall see no mention of Joan of Arc in the Note-Books, there is no mention of that brave wife and warrior, Joan of Flanders, Countess of Montfort, the defender of Hennebon, who, says Froissart, possessed the spirit of a man and the heart of a lion.

[1] Edward himself says a hundred and ninety, in what Longman points out to be the first despatch announcing a naval victory to England. The battle was a triumph of the English long-bow over the French cross-bow. Now, as in the days of Cromwell, we owed our success in some measure to superior weapons.

G1. 1346.—Flemish hostility had made an invasion *viâ* Flanders dangerous, and Guienne was in course of invasion by John of Normandy (*Carte*). Hence Edward set sail with a thousand ships, and forty thousand soldiers, English and Welsh, from "Sainte-Hélène" (St. Helen), and landed at La Hogue Saint Vaste in Normandy on July 12 (*Barrow*). This province received Edward gladly, owing to the harshness of Philip, who, amongst other onerous taxes, had placed a very heavy one on salt. Edward, in bitter raillery, dubbed the French king "the author of the Salic Law" (*Carte*). Philip at the time was preparing an armament to invade England. Caen was captured—a town of two thousand inhabitants; larger than any English town except London (*Longman*). While Edward was marching through Normandy, none of the usual lingual difficulties beset the invaders. Practically every one of them still spoke French with the Norman accent. Edward forced his way to Poissy, six leagues from Paris, and there found it necessary to get nearer his communications, and retreated towards the sea and Calais. In the crossing of the Somme he had more luck than he had a right to expect.

G2. Crecy.—Three leagues from Abbeville. The Black Prince was but sixteen years old. Edward left to him the main command of the actual battle, but as usual sought overnight safety and comfort for men and horses. The former were fed, and ordered to rest on the grass on the eve of the battle; the latter (all too few) were not to be mounted till they were required. King Philip had two horses killed under him, and was wounded in the neck and thigh (*Barrow*). Edward fought this battle in front of a wood, which he had entrenched—a perfectly permissible position against arrows (*Carte*). This gives point to Count Flahault's story, possibly truthful, about Napoleon's being asked, as he left the field of Waterloo, whether he was surprised, and answering, "No; it has been the same since Crecy." The wood of Soignies in 1815 was more perilous for Wellington than the various lines of retreat at Crecy, as it was the only one; moreover, the hardy English villeins overwhelmed the proud chivalry of France without the stern necessity of Prussian succour.

G3. Two kings—those of Bohemia and Majorca. As he was a volunteer, the King of Bohemia wore the legend *Ich dien* under

his plumes. Edward gave no quarter. Longman quotes an interesting pay-list of this campaign. The pay of the Bishop of Durham and of thirteen Earls was six-and-eightpence per day; that of the knights, two shillings, and of the squires a shilling. The Black Prince had four pounds per day.

*H*1. *Bear-Park—i.e.* Neville's Cross, three miles from Durham. The Scots had fifty thousand men. The four columns of the Queen's army were directed largely by Prelates; with the first was the Bishop of Durham, with the second the Archbishop of York and the Bishop of Carlisle, with the third the Bishop of Lincoln, and with the fourth the Archbishop of Canterbury. This bellicosity of our clergy is a frequent cause of wonder to Napoleon, and he alludes to it in the next reign.

Napoleon makes no allusion to the Black Death which destroyed half the populations of Europe, nor to Edward's siege and capture of Calais (a second Alesia, with a French army of a hundred and fifty thousand hard by, impotent to save), whose inhabitants had to eat horses, dogs, cats, and rats, and finally each other. It was our superiority in sea-power which made final success possible.

*J*1. *Naval battle of Winchelsea.*—The battle of L'Espagnols-sur-Mer, a Castilian Armada, instigated by Philip of France, who at the time had a truce with England. The Spaniards had the heavier ships, but could not stand up against English archery. As a result of the battle they asked for and obtained a twenty years' truce (*Barrow*). Rapin speaks of the Spanish ships as Corsairs. The King was so proud of his victory that he had a gold coin struck, showing himself on shipboard with a cutlass in his hand. His people henceforth hailed him as the King of the Sea. He seems never to have been happier than on this occasion, in his boat the *Cog Thomas*, with a look-out man calling out the number of the enemy's ships.

*K*1. *Poictiers.*—The Black Prince was hemmed in, short of food and hopelessly outnumbered. He had barely twelve thousand men, of whom less than three thousand were English. Vineyards and hedges saved the situation. Won mainly by Gascons, Poictiers was as much the General's battle as Eckmühl, Napoleon's favourite victory, was in 1809. Creçy, like Waterloo and Inkerman, was essentially a soldier's battle.

K2. John, King of France.—"The Black Prince bore himself on this occasion with all the courtesy of a true hero; he received the King of France with the greatest demonstrations of kindness and respect, consoled him on his ill-luck, and observed that success was often only the result of chance, adding that he had performed every duty belonging to a consummate general and an intrepid warrior, and that he had fallen into the hands of a nation which knew how to respect virtue and misfortune" (*Barrow*). Henceforward, King Edward had two monarchs in custody—John of France and David of Scotland.

K3. Archbishop of Sens.—This name was suggestive to the young Corsican, as the reigning Archbishop of Sens at the time he was writing these Note-Books was to be the patron of his literary work. King John, finding the French not disposed to fulfil the obligations of the Treaty of Brétigny (1360), resolved once more to be Edward's prisoner, telling his ministers that, "if good faith was banished from the rest of the world, it ought still to be found in the mouths of princes." It was yet a far cry to the time when Napoleon would have to accuse a British Ambassador of broken faith, and to exclaim, "Woe to those who despise treaties!" King John died at our Savoy Palace in 1364.

L1. A pension—paid quarterly. Balliol lived at Hatfield in Yorkshire, where he had to beg forgiveness for poaching—especially in ponds. Among his catch were two pike of three and a half feet long, three of three feet, twenty of two and a half feet, &c.; also a hundred and nine perch, roach, tench, and skelys (chub)! It was worth an apology.

M1. A Flemish fleet.—The Earl of Hereford commanded the English fleet, and took two of their ships (*Rapin*) and slew four thousand of its crews (*Carte*). This was a reign of naval victories. In 1367 a Danish fleet had the temerity to invade England, but was defeated and dispersed. In 1372, however, a Castilian squadron of forty heavy vessels, armed with cannon, defeated an English fleet off La Rochelle (*Barrow*). The Earl of Pembroke commanded the English fleet, a Genoese Admiral, Boccanegra, that of the Castilians. The English defeat was complete; the Earl and many of our ships were taken, including one containing twenty thousand marks for our army in Guienne (*Rapin*). At this time everything went wrong by land and sea.

Du Guesclin captured all before him in Guienne—soon all our conquests but Calais and Bordeaux were lost.

*N*1. *Alice Perrers.*—She had been a servant of Queen Philippa. Edward became debased and infatuated enough to give her the jewels and furniture of his late Queen. Carte is much more indulgent to Alice Perrers, and says that nothing of the nature of an amour ever took place.

*N*2. *The Parliament.*—Considering how great a king Edward was, this Parliament was the strongest the nation had yet seen.

*N*3. *Richard Lyons.*—He made "corners" at his pleasure. He had also evaded the tariff regulations by shipping to other ports than Calais. He tried to bribe the Black Prince by sending him a thousand pounds concealed in a barrel, but this was promptly returned. Others were implicated in this offence, and even John of Gaunt was suspected (*Barrow*). Lyons was the Ouvrard of his time. He was killed in 1381 by the Tyler rioters.

*O*1. *Death of the Black Prince.*—He was only in his fortieth year. "This prince has had for himself the suffrages of all the ages. In him Europe admired the most invincible hero of his time. He never fought a battle he did not win, and success crowned his every enterprise. Soldiers loved him with enthusiasm, and always fought under his flag with that certainty of victory which is not altered either by disproportion of numbers nor any other mischance. In spite of his activity and courage, he was of a very delicate constitution" (*Barrow*). Rapin and Carte are even more enthusiastic. Longman shows that in his three great victories (Creçy, Poictiers, and Navarrette) his luck was little short of miraculous.

*P*1. *Abandoned by everybody.*—Although the complaint (shingles) was not contagious, his death was something like that of Louis XV., so picturesquely portrayed by Carlyle. Alice Perrers (his "lady of the Sun") waited till he was alone and in the death agony to complete her pilfering. In spite of his last years, Edward was great—as a warrior, as a legislator, as a king. Like his grandfather, he was very tall for those days, fully six feet and of great physical strength. He was wise in his choice of men for his army, for his court, and for his cabinet. He was above superstition in a superstitious age, affable in his conversation,

polished in his manners (*Barrow*). He showed at times his mother's cruelty. Carte says he was well versed in laws, history, humanity and divinity, and understood Latin, French, Italian, Spanish, and German. "England was in his time a nation of heroes; and the common people, not in those days enlisted or enslaved for life, but taken by a commission of array from their homes to a campaign, on an occasional service, distinguished themselves in a day of action as much by their intrepidity, firmness, and bravery, as ever the ancient Greeks and Romans did in the perfection of their discipline."

The Black Death (which reduced England's population from four millions to two) and the consequent Statute of Labourers began the henceforward never-ending strife of Capital and Labour. A countryside denuded of workers and a metropolis swarming with foreign money-lenders provided the necessary apparatus for trusts, pools and corners, for champerty and maintenance, for bribery and corruption in high places. Creçy and gunpowder showed that the villein foot-soldier was as good a fighter and a man as his armour-plated superior on horseback.

Considering the importance of the reign, Napoleon has barely done it justice. As he does not consider that literature belongs to the province of history, it is not surprising that Chaucer and Wyclif are ignored, but law and domestic affairs merit more attention than they receive. Mauney, Chandos, and Guesclin deserve at least a line of recognition; as also perhaps the Act forbidding lawyers (of the kind now typified in Messrs. Dodson and Fogg) to enter Parliament.

NOTES TO RICHARD II

A 1. *Richard II.*—He was only ten, but "England awaited with all the tenderness of an indulgent mother the dawn of those happy qualities which Richard of Bordeaux had heralded during his minority" (*Barrow*). These qualities, after his first wife's death, degenerated into tyranny, dissimulation, and a chronic hunger for revenge. His conduct at Blackheath, his genuine wish for peace with France, and for more lenient lordship in Ireland, are the best examples of his spasmodic talents.

A 2. *The land-tenants in villenage.*—(Carte's phrase) i.e. *tenanciers en roture.* This great peasant rising was one of those first snowballs of liberty which, gathering as they go, roll slowly but relentlessly down the centuries till palace and cathedral are overwhelmed by the avalanche of the Terror. It is noted that this, the first movement of its kind in England, was stimulated by John Ball, a Franciscan friar, found by the rebels in Maidstone gaol, "who announced that nature had made all men equal, that serfdom was but unjust oppression contrary to God's will, and that it was their duty to shake off the yoke which was being imposed on them, and to assert the rights of humanity" (*Barrow*). Ball preached to them from the proverb—

> "When Adam delfed and Evé span,
> Who was then a gentleman?"

The exhortation ended, "If the end be well, then is all well."

The people's hatred of John of Gaunt, the next heir, was so great that the rebels swore that no man having the name of *John* should be their king. Froissart declares that personal slavery at this time was more rife in England than anywhere else, while insurrections for liberty had already occurred in Flanders and France.

*A*3. *The tax—i.e.* the poll-tax of sixpence on each person, male and female, above the age of sixteen. Rapin says above fifteen years of age, and that not even nuns and monks were excluded.

*A*4. *Slew him.*—By throwing his hammer at his head.

*A*5. *&c.—I.e.* in the markets, wherever they were.

*A*6. *Prevented by Walworth.*—He had drawn his dagger, but Walworth felled him with his mace to the ground, where he was poniarded by Sir John Philpot, an esquire of Norman birth, later to become our first great London merchant adventurer, who fitted out his own fleet to subdue Scotch piracy. The names of both are still kept green by London streets.

*A*7. *Pillaged the Abbey.*—The Church now felt the want of the Knights Templars. The destruction of the terriers of abbeys and of charters was, in days before Caxton, a far more serious thing than to-day. Lawyers and attorneys were specially marked out for slaughter. The senseless destructions of the art treasures accumulated by John of Gaunt in his palace of the Savoy bore the impress of unreasoning fanaticism, but hardly of the Wyclif party, of whom the Duke was a protector. The whole rebellion lasted but a month. The Flemings, who had farmed the taxes, were everywhere sought out and torn from sanctuary, and when unable to pronounce certain words, very difficult for foreigners, no disguise saved them from death.

*B*1. *The Bishop of Norwich* (Henry Spencer).—The fight was at North Walsham.

*B*2. *The Bishops bore arms.*—We have seen in the past reign and earlier how this fact surprised Napoleon. The Scotch chaplain who by moonlight at Otterburn defended the body of the dying Douglas against an English army was, even of this Church militant, the bravest of the brave.

*D*1. 1383.—It is very typical of Napoleon that he omits all mention of the Papal schism that was dividing Europe, of which a long account is given by Barrow.

*D*2. *Gravelines.*—Dunkirk surrendered to the Bishop forthwith. Owing to France and England supporting rival Popes, the Bishop's invasion partook of the nature of a crusade, and at one time he had ninety thousand men. He failed, however, to capture Ypres, his men deserted, and Richard failed to succour him until retreat had become unavoidable.

*E*1. *Duke of Ireland.*—Robert de Vere, Earl of Oxford, first Marquis of Dublin, then Duke of Ireland, with full powers save sovereignty over the kingdom (*Barrow*). Robert de Vere was the first marquis made in England (*Rapin*). As Duke of Ireland he was, however, to subjugate the island at his own expense (*Carte*).

*E*2. *Earl of Suffolk—i.e.* Sir Michael de la Pole, son of the first mayor of Hull, Sir William de la Pole, merchant, and heir of his vast wealth. Like his father, he soon had a king heavily in his debt.

*F*1. *The favourite—i.e.* the Earl of Suffolk, who was Lord Chancellor. There were many counts against him, including malversation of monies intended for the maintenance of the Navy, &c. He made practically no defence.

*G*1. *A fleet*—partly French, according to Barrow, from whom it is not clear whether the hundred and twenty-six ships are the convoy, or convoy and captured fleet combined. The Earl of Arundel, always considered an enemy by the king's favourites, got no thanks for this victory, and was in fact superseded by Harry Percy (Hotspur).

*I*1. *The merciless Parliament.*—It lasted from February 3rd to June 4th. It was employed, says Bright, almost entirely in destroying the enemies of Gloucester. The king gave up his favourites, of either sex, whether high-born or of low degree.

*I*2. *Tresilian*—(whose ruthless Assize, in the rebel counties, of 1381 was compared by Rapin to the circuit of Judge Jeffreys) was executed at Tyburn ; Sir Nicholas Bramber, on Tower Hill. The Earl of Suffolk and the Duke of Ireland survived their disgrace only a few years.

*I*3. *Earl of Arundel*—again Lord High Admiral, sets sail and defeats a French fleet, capturing eighty ships.

Barrow has a full account of Otterburn, but Napoleon ignores it, as he does Barrow's interesting notes on the renewal of tournaments. "Knights were conducted into the lists by their ladies, who drew them there with chains of silver. Love crowned victory or consoled defeat."

*J*1. *Sheriffs.*—These, chosen by him to serve his ends, had no alternative but to quash elections not agreeable to the king. Rapin adds that this was the first time such practices were used.

*K*1. *Smothered at Calais.*—Invited to accompany the king to London, this excellent prince was kidnapped in Epping Forest, taken to Calais, and smothered between two feather beds, whereupon it was given out that he had died of apoplexy during the night.

*K*2. *The king chose to be present*—accompanied by the Earls of Nottingham and Kent; the latter being the Earl of Arundel's son-in-law was admonished by the dying man for his unnatural conduct. Richard Fitzalan, Earl of Arundel, had ever been victorious for his country. "From birth to death," says Barrow, "his life had been one continual scene of heroic action." He was executed on a charge for which he had been pardoned nine years before (*Rapin*). Carte seems to think that both the Duke of Gloucester and Earl of Arundel got their deserts, and that the only safe man at this juncture against the Gloucester party (of whom Bolingbroke was one) was Mowbray, Duke of Norfolk.

*L*1. *Henry, Earl of Lancaster* — Hereford, and Derby. Napoleon, as usual sifting the essential from what is trivial and incidental, however interesting in itself, makes no mention of the joust between the Earl of Hereford and the Duke of Norfolk, so fully given by Barrow. The banishment of the two rivals by Richard is described as "perhaps the most despotic act ever perpetrated by an English monarch," especially as, at most, only one of them was to blame. Henry, on his return, is thus described by Barrow: "Cool, prudent, penetrating, and brave, he was already in high repute in England and on the Continent. Worshipped by his soldiers, he had also the advantage of being enormously rich, and allied by blood to all our leading nobles." Meantime his son, young Madcap Hal, was with Richard fighting in Ireland, and his courage "already announced the greatest hero of his age" (*Barrow*). East winds kept Richard in Ireland many weeks after he heard of Bolingbroke in England.

*N*1. *The principal advantage.*—This digest of the efficiency of the English Constitution is peculiarly Napoleon's own honey—here is some of Barrow's "thyme and marjoram" which served as Napoleon's raw material: "Thus ends the reign of Richard II.—a prince proud, feeble, fickle, and fitful, lacking force to hold the scales of government, prudence and discernment in the choice of his ministers, and the firmness and courage necessary to oppose

the execution of dangerous counsels. A multitude of acts in his government and administration put him for a time above the laws, but he ignored the maxim so necessary to every sovereign, that principles alone ensure safety for the State and for the king. With more moderation he would have preserved arbitrary power, but the violence with which he usurped it broke this weapon in his own hands. The faithfulness of his subjects assuaged for a certain time the fervent zeal of his administration, but Richard was to find by sad experience that those who abandon the interests of their country and betray the trust it reposes in them, end by despising the Cause which has permitted their infidelities and cease to respond to what their king expects of them, at a time when their cowardice has precipitated him into the abyss in which they leave him entombed."

It will serve here as an interesting comparison to add the views of Rapin on the English Constitution in his account of the same reign. Although we do not know that Napoleon knew this history, it is to be noted how much more nearly the views of the Corsican and the Huguenot coincide than those of the Huguenot and the Englishman (i.e. *Rapin* and *Barrow*). "Let us stay for a moment and reflect on the constitution of the English government. It is certain that the institution of parliaments is very advantageous to the kingdom, being the only support of the liberties of the people who, without it, would have long since fallen into a fatal slavery. But, on the other hand, it cannot be denied that these assemblies become sometimes very dangerous when influenced by popular factions, or the cabals of an ambitious prince. . . . This is one of the principal causes of the domestic troubles which have all along afflicted England more than any other European State. . . . Let us close this reign with a reflection which the sad catastrophe of Edward II. or Richard II. affords, viz. that in a government like that of England, all the king's endeavours to usurp an arbitrary power are but so many steps towards his destruction."

N2. The greatest revolutions.—"Many constitutions, and none more than the British, have been improved even by violent innovations" (*Hume*).

NOTES TO HENRY IV

*A*1. *Henry IV.*—The cock-and-bull story alleged in tracing his descent from the *second* son of Henry III.,[1] viz. that the said second son was in reality the first born, has a curious counterpart in what has been insinuated in the case of Joseph and Napoleon Bonaparte. Henry IV. had, like Napoleon, the natural claim to kingship, that of being the best man in the country at the time. Although triumphant in the long run, we are apt to look upon Henry IV., as upon his later French namesake, as the perfect type of the uneasy wearer of a crown, and to forget his earlier fame when, in Freeman's appreciation, he was "a gallant and popular prince, a pilgrim to Jerusalem, a Crusader in Africa and Prussia."

*A*2. *Bolingbroke*—near Spilsby, in Lincolnshire.

*A*3. *The Archbishop of Canterbury.*—This was Thomas Arundel, brother of the late Earl, and the prime mover in bringing Bolingbroke to England. He painted the crimes of the last reign in the darkest colours (*Barrow*).

*A*4. *The voice of the people.*—This is in the previous volume of Barrow (vol. iv. p. 407), and was thus not noted by Napoleon in his synopsis of the reign in question.

*B*1. *The Abbot of Westminster*—"a bold and intriguing priest," in whose house the conspirators met. There were too many letters in circulation, and the Duke of York found out the plot from his son, who thereupon fled to the king and divulged everything.

Napoleon makes no mention of the murder of Richard II., which he must have read in Barrow.

[1] Henry III. married Eleanor in 1236, and Edward I. was born in 1239. The theory is that Edmund of Lancaster (Crouchback) was born prior to this, and not in 1245, but that as he was deformed his birth had been concealed. His son was Henry of Lancaster, whose daughter and heiress married John of Gaunt; the last-named told this story in 1385.

*C*1. *Fire and faggot.*—The first martyr was William Sautre, Rector of St. Osith's, London. He had previously been examined for heresy by the Bishop of Norwich when parish priest of Lynn. His was the first death penalty for the cause of religion in England. His main offences were refusing to worship the cross otherwise than as "a vicarious symbol," and considering the delivery of sermons more necessary for a priest than the mind-numbing crooning of Hours.

*D*1. *Earl of Northumberland.*—He had been very badly used by the king in the matter of the ransom of the Earl's prisoners; the king also owed him twenty thousand pounds.

*D*2. *Battle of Shrewsbury.*—Henry's usual courage deserted him, and when he failed to make terms before the battle he followed the coward's expedient, dating back to Joram, King of Israel, of making others wear similar armour to his own. Douglas killed three of the substitutes himself. It is fair to add that in Hotspur and Douglas he was fighting the two best captains of his age (*Barrow*). Henry lost sixteen hundred men, the rebels ten thousand (*Rapin*). Hotspur had been buried on the field, but afterwards exhumed and his remains quartered. An accomplished omen had disheartened him before the battle, but he died as he had lived—the idol of the English, the bravest of the brave.

*D*3. *The Archbishop of York*—Richard le Scrope, brother of the Earl of Wiltshire, who had already perished on the scaffold. This was the conspiracy of 1405, in which Thomas Mowbray, Earl Marshal, and the Earl of Northumberland took part. The king wished Sir William Gascoigne, Chief-Justice of the King's Bench, to pronounce sentence, but he refused. The Archbishop was condemned to death by another judge, Sir William Fulthorpe, a Yorkshireman, and the executioner managed to cut off his head at the fifth stroke. Mowbray suffered the same fate (*Barrow*). Archbishop Arundel had ridden twenty-four hours without a stop to save Scrope. The king ordered the former to seek refreshment (it was Whit-Monday), putting him off with fair words, and while he did so, Scrope was executed (*Ramsay*). Of the half-dozen or more parallels which English history offers to the Duc d'Enghien episode none required more nerve on the part of the monarchy, none was apparently a more salutary sedative to sedition. The Archbishop had a fair excuse for his rebellion in

the inspired conduct of the "Illiterate Parliament"[1] the year before, which (doubtless with Henry's connivance) wished to utilise Church lands to defray national expenses. Luckily for the clergy, the Lords refused to accept the suggestions of the Commons (*Rapin*).

The rebellion of Owen Glendower is ignored by Napoleon.

*E*1. *When the flames were seizing him.*—The fire was put out once by the king's orders on Badby's cries, but he refused to recant. Rapin says it was the Prince of Wales who was present, and who even offered the tailor a life pension if he would reject Lollardism. The reason the king supported the Church party was partly that he had been anointed with a special unction,[2] first used at the coronation of Henry III., which had the special merit of making the recipients protectors of the rights of the Church (*Rapin*). The Commons, largely Lollards, were much incensed at this execution. Napoleon omits the story of the judge and Prince Hal, and the latter's donning of his father's crown.

*F*1. *Having fallen ill.*—Mezerai says it was leprosy—more probably a preliminary attack of paralysis. Henry, after his first seizure, had decided at once to set out for the East to fight the Infidel; but within three months he had a second stroke when in St. Edward's chapel. On regaining consciousness he found himself in the Jerusalem Chamber, in the house of the Abbot of Westminster, a room unknown to him. He died at the age of forty-six, Richard II. at thirty-three.

[1] *I.e.* the Parliament without lawyers, based on the Act of 1372.

[2] Ramsay gives an interesting account of this phial of unction, enclosed "in a golden eagle."

NOTES TO HENRY V

*A*1. *Henry V.*—Born 1388, educated at Queen's College, Oxford. His taking away of the Great Seal from Archbishop Arundel and his dismissal of Chief Justice Gascoigne were examples of revenge which boded ill for the new reign.

*A*2. *Cobham was condemned to be burnt.*—Barrow says nothing as to the nature of Cobham's punishment, which Napoleon infers from that of Badby. He escaped from the Tower, apparently by the aid of confederates, who forthwith prepared a revolt while he made himself scarce. He had been a gallant soldier, and was beloved by the people. He was captured in 1418, hung up by the middle and burnt alive. C. E. Maurice classes him with Langton, Tyler, and Ball as typical English leaders. He was the first nobleman executed on account of his religion.

*B*1. *Prohibited the reading of the Scriptures.*—Strictly speaking, what Barrow says is that people convicted of reading the Scriptures in English should find no sanctuary anywhere. If they offended again they were to be hung and afterwards burnt: hung as traitors to the king, and burnt for heresy against God (*Rapin*).

*C*1. *War against France.*—Probably, says Ramsay, there never was a time when a cry for a war of aggression could not have been got up in England. This particular war-cloud had been gathering for two years. Henry had claimed the crown of France, or at least all the portion guaranteed by the Treaty of Brétigny, and six hundred thousand crowns, the unpaid ransom of King John. France offered the equivalent of the ransom as dowry with Princess Catherine (see *G*1), but prevaricated about the land, and finally sent the barrel of tennis balls. The new Archbishop of Canterbury, in order to encourage the king to favour the clergy against the Lollards and to prevent Church lands being seized, persuaded the former to encourage the French war

and grant enormous subsidies for it. The king, however, made peace with the Lollards before he started for France on August 15th (on what was to be Napoleon's birthday). The capture of Harfleur, one of the strongest places in France, soon followed.

C2. The celebrated battle of Agincourt.—After Harfleur autumn ailments and new wine caused dysentery among the English. At last they crossed the Somme, short of food and with a sick army. Henry was now in a worse plight than the Black Prince before Poictiers. He offered to give up Harfleur and most of his claims and to return home, but in vain. On the eve of the battle he sent a Welsh captain, David Gam, to reconnoitre the enemy's strength, and his version was, "There were enough to kill, enough to take prisoners, and enough to put to flight." The French cocksureness was such that they played at dice as to who should have the English officers for ransom; they engaged rooms in the surrounding villages for accommodating supposititious prisoners, and on the morning of the battle sent to ask Henry at what price he fixed his own ransom. The battle as usual was won by our archers—the best mail was not proof against a long-bow shaft drawn by an English arm. Towards the close some French stragglers seemed to threaten the English camp, and thereupon Henry had most of the French prisoners killed in cold blood.

This account of the 1415 campaign takes up some five lines in Napoleon's Note-Book, twenty pages in Barrow. Hume comments on similar features at Creçy, Poictiers, and Agincourt. In each case the temerity of the English monarch was largely redeemed by the superiority of his troops over the French. In each case failure to achieve victory would have been ruin to the English. In each case the English were slack in the pursuit. All these points were equally characteristic of Waterloo. In reviewing his lost battle at St. Helena with Gourgaud, the Emperor said, "Poor France! to be beaten by these rascals! But it is true the result had been the same at Creçy and Agincourt. I was too cocksure of beating them."

C3. A hundred thousand French.—Barrow's figures are probably three times too high on either side. The French losses may, however, have been ten thousand, while those of the English barely exceeded a hundred.

D1. The Emperor Sigismund.—He was in Paris at this time,

anxious that France and England should aid him against the Turk. Barrow remarks that there was a prejudice in those days that emperors were greater than kings, and hence Sigismund was preparing to act as a mediator whose word was that of a Cæsar. France was prepared to flatter him and to humour his pretensions. Henry helped Sigismund in ending the schism in the Church. At the European Congress held for the purpose about this time Italy, Germany, France, and England were at first sole representatives; later, Spain was admitted.

D2. A Deputation.—The Duke of Gloucester rode out into the sea and stopped the emperor's ship with drawn sword. The emperor made graceful concessions, and was created a Knight of the Garter.

D3. Naval battle.—Again Henry's fleet set out on August 15th, this time with four hundred ships and twenty thousand men. The Genoese sailors were considered the best in Europe. It was by boarding that the English won. The Duke of Bedford relieved Harfleur and entered it in triumph.

E1. The French Admiral.—Henry, before invading France, sent his navy to sweep the Channel, and found nine Genoese ships. The Admiral had with him a year's pay for all his men.

F1. 1419.—Early this year Henry took Rouen, the second city of France, after a long siege. This, with the capture of Château-Gaillard and intervening towns, completed the conquest of Normandy.

F2. Philip, Duke of Burgundy—died a victim to his good faith. He was assassinated by order of the Dauphin.

G1. Princess Catherine.—The match had been hanging fire since 1414. Of her four elder sisters, three were then married and one was a nun (*Rapin*).

G2. Was married to Henry.—On Trinity Sunday (June 2) in the Cathedral of Troyes, by the Archbishop of Sens. After a day's "honeymoon" he marched to besiege Sens, belonging to the Dauphin's party, took it, and reinstated the Archbishop, saying, "You gave me a wife; I give you yours—your church."

G3. Queen Isabella.—This criticism is purely Napoleon's, being his digest of Barrow, who merely gives the facts without comment. The queen abandoned her eldest son rather than forget the indignities she had received from the Constable

D'Armagnac (*Rapin*). A worthy gentleman, Bois Bourdon, accused of being her lover, was sewn up in a sack and drowned (*Carte*).

H1. Breathed only vengeance—i.e. against Isabella and the Dauphin. He was absolutely loyal to Henry and the Treaty of Troyes.

I1. The Estates-General.—Unlike Frederick the Great's grenadier, Henry made two answers suffice for all their requests, either "*Impossibile est*" or "*Sic fieri oportebit.*" Scarcely was Henry in England when Scotch reinforcements enabled the Dauphin party to win the skirmish at Baugé. "Truly," said Pope Martin when he heard of it, "the Scotch are the antidotes of the English."

I2. Charles VI.—At this time France had two kings, two queens, and two regents; while Paris had two parliaments and two universities.

J1. Death of Henry V.—at the castle of Vincennes, of dysentery or fistula (whilst campaigning). Monstrelet says it was erysipelas, and Peter Basset, his chamberlain, pleurisy. He was only thirty-four. Charles VI. of France survived him only a fortnight. As a general Rapin justly rates him lower than Edward III. He was always short of money on campaign; he paid his archers sixpence a day and his cavalry two shillings. Calais cost the crown over nineteen thousand pounds a year and Ireland two thousand pounds (money of that time). The French war was utterly unjust, and in some of his actions, especially during the siege of Rouen, Henry was very cruel. To its starving populace he said, "War has three hand-maidens ever waiting on her—Fire, Blood, and Famine; and in choosing the last I gave you the meekest of the three." The French, however, admired his bravery and truthfulness. Ranke quotes from one of their Chronicles: "He transacts all his affairs himself; he considers them well before he undertakes them; he never does anything fruitlessly. He is free from excesses and truthful; he never makes himself too familiar. On his face are visible dignity and supreme power." Professor Goldwin Smith has a like comment, "There is a severe beauty in his character as well as in his face." He had two traits specially in common with Napoleon: he would himself get to the bottom of everything, and he abhorred duelling.

NOTES TO HENRY VI

*A*1. *Parliament.*—Hume points out that under the House of Lancaster, and especially during the minority of Henry VI., Parliament attained a great extension of its powers.

*A*2. *the Duke of Bedford Protector.* — This was against the dying wish of Henry V., who had selected the Duke of Gloucester for the office. In the Council Chamber the Protector merely enjoyed the casting vote (*Barrow*). The Duke of Bedford was the wisest and most accomplished leader in Christendom (*Rapin*).

*A*3. *Protector and the king's principal counsellor.* — Parliament preferred these titles to Regent, Tutor, Guardian, or any word importing power, out of apprehension that it might be abused.

*A*4. *King of France.*—The Dauphin, on his side, was himself consecrated king at Poictiers,[1] because the English held Rheims. Charles VII. wore mourning for one day and then donned the royal scarlet. The new French king was twenty or twenty-one, Henry VI. under a year old (*Rapin*). Charles possessed all Languedoc, Dauphiny, Berry, Auvergne, Touraine, part of Saintonge, La Rochelle, and Poitou.

*A*5. *Normandy, Guienne* — *i.e.* the two richest provinces in France.

*A*6. *Burgundy, Flanders, Artois* — belonged to the Duke of Burgundy, who was the vassal and ally of England. Brittany alone maintained neutrality, but leaned towards England.

*B*1. *Battle of Verneuil.*—A spectator at Agincourt, Cravant, and Verneuil gives the palm to the last for generalship and good fighting. The victorious Bedford lost seventeen hundred of his best troops which could ill be spared, but the position of Charles VII. would now have been hopeless had it not been for the quarrel of the Dukes of Gloucester and Burgundy.

The period between Verneuil and Talbot's defeat is like a

[1] Ramsay says at Méhun sur Yèvre.

long-drawn-out edition of the Peninsular War between Corunna and Vittoria. In both cases the invaders were weary of the war, and "had no great victory to gratify their thirst for glory" (*Carte*); they saw the ruin that must await them, as the bulk of their enemies, being native-born, could ensure a better intelligence department. By leadership alone neither the Steel-clad Maiden nor even the Iron Duke saved an alien land. A great nation, whether France, Spain or Prussia,[1] will assuredly at the right moment work out the main part of its own salvation.

C1 Siege of Orleans.—This was almost the last hope of the French king. Beginning in October, the English had twenty-three thousand men engaged in the siege. Attempting to cut off an English convoy of salt fish for Lenten fare, a French detachment had been defeated at the Battle of Herrings. When the Nativity changed the course of History "three women,"[2] says Michelet, "caused the whole business." Now that the French kingdom was at its last gasp of freedom the same thing happened at the hands of Mary of Anjou and Agnes Sorel, who persuaded Charles to support Orleans, and Joan of Arc who saved it. The siege had lasted four months when Joan of Arc appeared on the scene. Carte, evidently with a side-thought of Middleton's Roaring Girl, calls her "a lusty, stout virago of a girl, about twenty-seven years of age." Green and others make her ten years younger. The miracle-despising Hume speaks of this "admirable heroine, to whom the more generous superstition of the ancients would have erected altars." Barrow has a full and fair account of her; Napoleon ignores her. The English retired in confusion from Orleans, were beaten at Patay, and Charles was crowned at Rheims. Captured by reason of French treachery, the people Joan had saved made no attempt to save her. Dr. Emil Reich has recently shown the ingratitude of France at the life-crises of her two greatest liberators, Joan of Arc and Napoleon. The former's execution, like that of Charles I. and of the Duc d'Enghien, is one that can fairly, like

[1] "When such a great people as the Germans become angered and arise in a body, France must tremble, even though it had ten Napoleons" (*Moltke*, 1841). A generation later his patriotism could afford to become more modest in its pretensions.

[2] *I.e.* Elizabeth and the two Annas, "The Bible of Humanity."

them, be labelled "cruel necessity." Carte declares that her reputation in point of chastity was never attacked, even by her enemies, and that her courage is not sufficiently to be admired, whether it arose from her natural constitution or was the effect of enthusiasm. Ranke condemns the "ungenerous hate" of the English. Some sixty years ago De Quincey, in one of his least successful essays, tried to convince Michelet that we admired Joan as much as the French.

D1. Death of the Duchess of Bedford—beloved by the French people, "*bonne et belle*"—the only friend of Joan of Arc in her last days. The Note-Book erroneously says "the Duke," who died later in 1435. Anne of Burgundy, Duchess of Bedford, was a tie between the English Regent and the Duke of Burgundy. Henceforward the Duke of Burgundy leaned towards Charles, especially as the Duke of Bedford had married a new wife within six months, without Burgundy's knowledge, although the bride herself was daughter of one of his vassals.

D2. The Duke of Burgundy changes sides. — The mainstay of England on the Continent, says Freeman, was the Burgundian alliance.

E1. 1436.—The Truce of Arras, where the English had been tricked by the French, and the death of the Duke of Bedford, both occurrences of 1435, made the position of the English in France much worse (*Rapin*).

E2. The English abandon Paris. — There were only fifteen hundred of them. Attacked by the populace from within, and by the French army without, they retire into the Bastille, which, however, had but three days' provisions. The widow of the Duke of Bedford, aged only twenty-two, follows the example of Catherine of France and marries again (1437). This year the relicts of Henry IV. (Joan of Navarre) and Henry V. (Catherine of France, now Catherine Tudor) died.

F1. English supremacy.—The death of the Regent ended it. "Great in birth and worth; wise, liberal, feared, and loved"; he stands forth as the first and greatest of Britain's Lord High Commissioners beyond the sea.

G1. The Duchess of Gloucester. — Eleanor Cobham. The Bishop of Winchester wished to injure the Duke by disgracing his wife. She was accused of making an image of the king and

slowly melting it by the fire, that the king might die little by little. She was condemned to walk for three days barefooted and bareheaded, wax-torch in hand, through London to St. Paul's (*Barrow*). This was, as Rapin points out, a terrible mortification for the first prince of the blood. "Helpless and cowed," says Ramsay, "he looked on in craven silence."

H1. Truce of Tours — for two years. It began a month earlier on land than on sea.

H2. Margaret of Anjou. — Barrow is very severe on this Princess, calling her cunning and vindictive. Goldwin Smith calls her "the bride of surrender," for instead of bringing her husband a dowry, he gave up to her uncle, Charles of Anjou, the whole of the province of Maine. This was the bulwark of Normandy; and this fact was one reason why the Duke of Gloucester opposed the match; the other being that Henry VI. had already promised to marry the daughter of the Count d'Armagnac, who had been treacherously captured by the Dauphin and whose rights Henry now basely ignored. Henceforth Henry is a mere marionette,—"the king got a wife and the kingdom a governess," as Rapin put it. Married by deputy, she was remarried in Southwark Priory, and crowned in Westminster Abbey, May 13th, 1445.

H3. The good Duke of Gloucester.—Duke Humphrey (founder of the Oxford library now called after Sir Thomas Bodley) was heir to the throne, and the queen and her party knew it would be a bad look-out for them if Henry VI. died first. The queen considered the Duke of York more manageable. Duke Humphrey was accused of wishing to seize the crown and to free his wife from her imprisonment in Kenilworth Castle. After being imprisoned seven days without being charged, he was found dead in his bed. He had probably suffered the fate of his namesake at Calais, or of Edward II. He was deeply lamented by the people. After his death, the Duke of York as heir to the throne proved to the queen a far greater danger than the Duke of Gloucester would ever have been. Henry Beaufort, Cardinal of Winchester (the legitimised son of John of Gaunt), died five weeks later overwhelmed with remorse. He was a great loss to the queen and to her favourite Suffolk. Beaufort had made loans to the king aggregating half a million, a huge sum in those days.

Deprived of the Cardinal's support, the Marquis of Suffolk was looked upon not only as the murderer of Gloucester, but as the traitor who had given up Maine. Moreover, his relations with the queen were far too intimate to escape censure.

11. 1450.—By August this year the English had been beaten out of Normandy—not a foot of land remained to them there.

12. Sire, take care of your empire.—This refers to 1449, a year not mentioned by Napoleon, but one of the blackest in English history, in which we definitely lost our sway in France, and were unable to send help because of an Irish revolt. The queen sent the Duke of York to suppress this, hoping he would die there, but he quelled the revolt without spilling a drop of blood, and endeared himself to the Irish. By 1450 England had lost both Normandy and Guienne, the latter after being in her possession three hundred years. A similar message ("O King, thou art betrayed!") from a mysterious wild man of the woods is said to have caused the madness of Charles VI. some twenty years earlier.

13. Talbot, famous captain. — This gallant warrior, eighty years old, hastened back from Italy to try to save Guienne. He retook Bordeaux, but was soon outnumbered by the armies of Charles. Menaced by two armies, he attacked one of them entrenched, and he and his son died together rather than survive a defeat. This is the last battle in maintenance of our European empire—henceforward lost. Talbot's sword motto was "*Sum Talboti, Pro vincere inimicos meos.*" In his epitaph he is styled Earl of Shrewsbury, Lord Talbot, Lord Furnival, Lord Verdon, Lord Strange of Blackmore, and Marshal of France. With his death and the loss of Bordeaux ended the hundred years' war.

11. Henry tried to save him—i.e. by banishing him for five years, but not allowing him to go to France. In spite of this the Duke sailed for France (Carte says for Flanders), but his ship was stopped by an English captain, by whose orders his head was cut off on the side of a long-boat, and left, with his body, on Dover sands. He had served his country in thirty-four campaigns, had lived seventeen years abroad without visiting England, and had lost a father and three brothers in the wars with France. Hume, however, declares him to have been a bad man and a bad minister.

J2. The Bishop of Salisbury—was murdered in Wiltshire.

J3. The Duke of York began to air his pretensions to the crown —chiefly by the Jack Cade rebellion, not otherwise alluded to by Napoleon. He also omits the final ruin of England's French Empire, from the battle of Fourmigny (1450) to the final loss of Bordeaux (1453). The Duke of York had enormously added to his power by marrying Cicely Nevil, by whom he had twelve children. Another valuable friend was Sir W. Oldhall, shortly afterwards made Speaker of the House of Commons.

K1. This quarrel. — Suspicion was justly rife on both sides. The Duke of York had led an army against the king almost to London ; whilst the birth of a first child to the queen in 1453, nearly nine years after her marriage, was looked upon with grave suspicion. Warming-pan heroes have generally been dangerous to dynasties.

K2. The Wars of York and Lancaster.—These lasted thirty years, and in the course of them eight princes of the blood were slain, and nearly all the ancient nobility of England (*Hume*). Ramsay points out that till Tudor times there was only one Rose —the White Rose of York. On the other hand, Edmund of Lancaster by his second wife is said to have brought over the Provence roses.

L1. The Duke of Somerset.—Rapin says he was arrested in the Queen's bedchamber.

M1. Earls of Salisbury and Warwick — *i.e.* the two Nevils, father and son. The latter was "the stout Earl of Warwick, the king-maker." Hume considers the Nevil family at this time probably the most potent family, both from their opulent possessions and from the characters of the men, that has ever appeared in England. No less than thirty thousand persons are said to have fed daily in the various castles and mansions of the king-maker.

M2. St. Albans.—At the first battle of St. Albans the king was wounded in the neck by an arrow, and his army defeated in a few moments and completely dispersed. The Duke of Somerset seems to have been mainly to blame for the outbreak of hostilities.

N1. 1460.—An interesting feature of this period is the part the navy took in support of their former leader, the Earl of Warwick. The sailors of the Royal Fleet, under the Duke of

Exeter, absolutely refused to attack him, and preferred to desert to him. This gave him the command of the navy, so that he at Calais, and the Duke of York in Ireland, could choose their own time and place for invasion. Bloreheath had not appreciably lessened Margaret's dangers.

N2. Battle of Northampton. — Having landed in Kent, the York party seizes London, and the Earl of March, son of the Duke of York, at once hastens north to meet the Royalist party. The king remains in his tent. The battle remains undecided until 7 P.M., when Ruthven's defection from the king's army causes its defeat: Henry VI. is again taken prisoner (*Barrow*).

O1. Parliament declared.—As the Duke of York was older than Henry VI., his hopes of succession were not very rosy. The former, head of a victorious army, could, had he been a Cromwell or even a Napoleon, have made better terms. Rapin, with his usual shrewdness, points out that during their twenty-five years' reign the Yorkists had no historian, and so their line never receives fair play.

P1. Battle of Sandal—i.e. Wakefield Green. Sandal Castle was securely held by the Duke, but the queen provoked him to come out to fight. The Yorkists fell into an ambush, and in half-an-hour lost two thousand eight hundred men. This is the first battle where prisoners were killed in cold blood. Henceforward this barbarous practice, says Hume, was continued by both parties, "from a spirit of revenge, which covered itself under the pretence of retaliation." The heads of the Duke of York and the Earl of Salisbury were displayed on the walls of York Castle. Edward, Earl of March, hastened to avenge his father. The queen had divided her army, and one portion, under Owen Tudor, was defeated by the Earl of March at Mortimer's Cross. Owen Tudor was captured by the Earl and executed. This was the Owen Tudor who had married the Queen Dowager, Catherine of France, and was grandfather of Henry VII.

P2. The Earl of Warwick.—He lost two thousand men, but made a good retreat.

P3. His promise which Parliament had confirmed.—Ranke points out that the House of Lancaster owed their rise to their alliance with the clergy and the Parliament. The hopeless in-

debtedness of Henry VI. aggravated the clergy, and his French wife's influence had finally alienated Parliament, although for a time a wave of chivalry (as, later, in the case of Maria Theresa) had stirred them to support a woman against a powerful foe. "In these wars," says Ranke, "every man fought less for the prince whose device he wore, the red or the white rose, than for his own share in the enjoyment of political power." There might have been prepared a History of Weathercocks even in those days, for Freeman points out how, "after each new revolution, a Parliament was always found ready to condemn the defeated side, and to acknowledge the rights of the conqueror."

*P*4. *Edward.*—Plantagenet, now Duke of York. He was twenty years old, and Carte describes him as "the loveliest person that ever eyes were set on."

NOTES TO EDWARD IV

"There is no part of English history since the Conquest so obscure, so uncertain, so little authentic or consistent, as that of the wars between the two Roses."—HUME.

IT is not often that Barrow is guilty of purple patches, and Napoleon's Note-Books would not reproduce them if he were. At the commencement of this reign, however, the Englishman indulges in a retrospect more pretentious than his wont. Having alluded to the sleepless vigilance by which Henry IV. thought to ensure a safe succession to his house, he pauses over Henry V. "who seemed to have placed his family like a sun in splendour in the midst of the English atmosphere to be a source of light for ever, to quicken the springs of government and to cast on the nation the effulgent beams of an unalterable future." But "the Almighty punishes injustice," and all the Lancastrian projects came to naught.

A1. Scarcely on the throne.—Edward's coronation took place after Towton, on June 29th. His two young brothers, George and Richard, were then made Dukes of Clarence and Gloucester respectively.

A2. Margaret.—This indomitable queen had managed to raise sixty thousand men in Yorkshire. Edward's first attempt to cross the Aire at Ferrybridge had failed, and his general (Fitzwalter) was slain, but Lord Falconbridge succeeded better at Castleford. The latter was also the hero of Towton, which was fought on Palm Sunday, March 29th, and (like Eylau hereafter) amid a raging snow-storm. "No such battle," says Green, "had been seen in England since Senlac." Edward's army was less than fifty thousand; he gave orders that no quarter was to be given. It was the decisive battle of the war.

*B*1. *Henry VI.*—After Hedgeley Moor and Hexham he had sought refuge in Scotland ; but soon, finding Edinburgh insecure, he made his way in disguise to Waddington in Lancashire, where a year later he was betrayed. His feet were strapped to his stirrups, and thus he was brought to London.

*C*1. *The king married.*—There are interesting details, of Saint-Simonian piquancy, to be found in Carte. This romantic marriage won the praise of Sir Philip Sidney :

> " Of all the kings that ever here did reign
> Edward, named Fourth, as first in praise I name,
> Not for his fair outside, nor well-lin'd brain,
> Although less gifts imp feathers oft on fame,
> . . . . . .
> Not this, nor that, nor any such small cause,
> But only for this worthy knight durst prove
> To lose his crown rather than fail in love."

*C*2. *The Widow.*—There are parallels between the young King of England and our hero of Vendémiaire. Both as victors were visited by a charming widow, who had lost husband and possessions to revolutionary victors. In both cases " love stole insensibly into the heart under the guise of compassion" (*Hume*). In both cases a good-looking young man fell in love at first sight. But whereas Bonaparte got the command of the Italian army as a dowry, Edward alienated his best friends, and soon for a time lost his crown. As Barrow says, " he sacrificed his liberty, his ambition, and safety itself for the sake of his charming widow." Rapin prefaces his account with, " What I am about to relate is not a romance, but a true story."

*D*1. *The Earl of Warwick*—had new and just grounds of complaint against the king, who had dared to offer insult to his daughter, one of the most beautiful maidens in England. He was also accused of correspondence with Margaret.

*D*2. *Queen Margaret.*—She made her peace only when Warwick had asked pardon on his knees[1] for calling her son Edward a bastard. The young prince was forthwith affianced to Warwick's second daughter, Anne.

[1] She kept him there a quarter of an hour.

*E*1. *At first beaten.*—They had already defeated the Yorkists at Edgcote near Banbury, and captured King Edward himself at Wolney, but the latter escaped from Middleham Castle and the custody of Nevil, Archbishop of York (*Rapin*). (Carte does not believe this story from "The Fragment of Edward IV.")

*E*2. *Stamford.*—Sir Robert Wells was defeated before Warwick and Clarence could join him. Edward had made straight for London and raised his army there. The battle is sometimes called that of Lose-Coat Field, because the Lincolnshire levies threw away their coats in order to run the better. It is four and a half miles from Stamford, and the wood, the scene of the battle, is still called Bloody Oaks.

*E*3. *Where they lost.*—Barrow is sceptical about this, and only gives the loss of ten thousand as a Yorkist rumour.

*E*4. *A bloodless revolution.*—Edward had looked upon any new enterprise by Warwick as hopeless, and had gone to York to quell a revolt. Warwick was scarcely landed when he found himself at the head of sixty thousand men, with whom he marched to Nottingham. After a rather serious defection, Edward, returning from York, took what Napoleon always found the very unwise step of convening a Council, who advised retreat. Edward escaped *viâ* Lynn to Holland. Warwick released Henry from the Tower and again placed him on the throne. The whole revolution from Warwick's arrival at Dartmouth only took eleven days. All the judges, sheriffs, and government officials were changed. The only man punished was John Tiptoft, Earl of Worcester, generally known as *John the Butcher*. Less lucky than the defeated prince on Worcester field, he was caught at the top of a high tree in the Huntingdonshire forest of Weybridge, taken to Tower Hill, and beheaded. Clarence and Warwick were made co-regents of the country. Edward's queen took sanctuary in Westminster, where the future Edward V. was born to her (November 4, 1470) under bad auspices.

*E*5. *Henry VI. remounted the throne*—October 24, 1470, dressed in a long gown of blue velvet (*Rapin*). Warwick henceforth was rightly called the King-Maker. He had made Edward IV. king, and now remade Henry, who had been in the Tower imprisoned for six years. Warwick as a warrior had introduced the custom of encouraging rather the quality than the quantity

of the slain. In all previous wars, leaders had enjoyed relative immunity.

F1. Edward returned.—His brother-in-law, the Duke of Burgundy, was loth to help him, fearing the combined vengeance of France and England. However, a personal interview decided him to fit out Edward with ships and money. He landed at Ravenspur (where Henry of Bolingbroke had begun his successful campaign against Richard II.) in May 1471, entered York by fraud, blended with audacity, and soon had a large army with which to march on London. Warwick, awaiting his brother's army, and trusting to the Archbishop of York, who commanded the capital, to hold out for a day or two, allowed Edward to pass him, but the Archbishop was as inefficient in London as Marmont later in Paris.

F2. Barnet Heath—Fought on Easter Day, April 14. A fog and treachery, especially that of the Duke of Clarence (who deserted to Edward and took an army with him), cause the ruin of the Lancastrians. Here dies Warwick, the King-Maker and "Last of the Barons," the real hero of the Wars of the Roses. The restoration of Henry VI. had only lasted six months. The same day Queen Margaret and her son landed at Weymouth.

F3. The Prince of Wales.—The brutal murder of this gallant youth, aged eighteen, tarnishes what little fame Edward was entitled to, and makes one think that the fate in store for each of the actual criminals—Richard of Gloucester, the Duke of Clarence, and Hastings—was well deserved. Queen Margaret was imprisoned in the Tower for four years, after which the King of France paid fifty thousand florins as her ransom (in return for which her father ceded to France Anjou and Provence).

F4. Poor Henry.—the adjective shows Napoleon's own impressions of this weak but lovable character. Eton and King's College are his monuments. He was only fifty years of age. Barrow remarks that while he would have edified any cloister, he degraded the crown. As for Margaret (as with Edward II., Richard II., Henry VI., Charles I., and even with Henry V.), a French wife brought the usual curse of her race to an English king.

G1. Duke of Clarence condemned to death.—He was a man wanting in tact and foolishly outspoken. His trial and execution

were not unlike that of the Duc d'Enghien, his own brother Gloucester being a prototype of Talleyrand. The king much regretted his death, and used to say, "O unfortunate brother, for whose life not one creature would make intercession."

G2. Malvoisie—Barrow has *Malmsey*. By the Duke's death his daughter became Countess of Salisbury.

H1. Death of the King.—Thoroughly outwitted by the French king, Louis XI., he was preparing for what (Rapin says) was always popular in England, a war with France, when death overtook him. He had eleven children by his wife Elizabeth. Carte, relying on Polydore Vergil, says that whatever his faults, he lived beloved and died lamented: he found at his accession the nation impoverished, and he left it at his death rich and flourishing, a proof of his good government. He was one of our first kings who enjoyed the royal birthright of remembering every face he had once seen. Ranke compares the recrudescence of his spent energies to the same redeeming virtue in Sardanapalus.

NOTES TO EDWARD V

*A*1. *Young Edward.*—In about forty words, in one paragraph, Napoleon has absorbed all the sap of two pages, *i.e.* four hundred words of Barrow.

NOTES TO RICHARD III

*A*1. *Richard III.*—Napoleon dates the reign from the Protectorate; Barrow from June 20, after the murder of Hastings. On July 6 he was crowned, which Edward V. had never been.

*A*2. *Put to death.*—This is a mistake; Hastings alone was beheaded. Stanley and Thomas Rotherham, Archbishop of York, were released the same day.

*A*3. *The 20th June.*—He was proclaimed on June 22nd and crowned on July 6th, upon the arrival of five thousand men from the north. He did not entirely trust the London people.

*A*4. *A pretence that his two nephews were illegitimate.*—To prove this he employed a great London divine, Dr. Shaw (brother of the Lord Mayor), who preached at Paul's Cross from the text in Wisdom, "Bastard slips shall take no deep root" (*Rapin*).

*A*5. *He had them smothered.*—Barrow merely gives this as popular rumour. While Tyrell, relieving Brackenbury, took command at the Tower, Richard was making a royal progress, being recrowned at York and renewing the old league with Castile, whose sovereigns were descended from the House of Lancaster.

*A*6. *Tyrell.*—The murderers were Miles Forest and John Dighton.

*A*7. *In the reign of Charles II.*—*i.e.* in 1674, when a new pair of stairs was being made in the White Tower. The relics were placed in a white marble urn in Henry the Seventh's chapel.

*B*1. *From Henry IV.*—This is wrong. John Beaufort's grandfather was John of Gaunt; but his first children by Catherine Roet (widow of Sir Otho de Swinford) were not born in wedlock, and were therefore called after Beaufort Castle, where they were born. Napoleon is evidently confusing this, which seems

nowhere clearly stated by Barrow, with the fact that the widow of Henry V. married Owen Tudor.

*C*1. *Duke of Richmond.*—Like Wellington outside Seringapatam (at practically the same age, twenty-nine), he loses his army in the night, but finds it again next morning.

*C*2. *Victor at Bosworth.*—As battles go it was a poor affair, and only lasted two hours. At the beginning of the engagement Richard had six thousand men, of whom two thousand were lost in the battle. Richmond lost but a hundred men out of three thousand. The battle was, in fact, an organised betrayal.

*C*3. *The death of Richard*—ended also the English Thirty Years' War—that of the Roses. Richard was only thirty-three.

Every one should read Carte's defence of Richard III. (vol. ii. pp. 818–821). He shows that he was neither crooked in body nor in disposition, that he was generous and in many cases kind —notably so to his nieces; that it is most unlikely that he put the princes to death, and that they probably survived him; that he was far less cruel and false than the Welshman, Henry of Richmond; and that his excellent laws and even-handed justice are eminently praiseworthy. It is now the fashion of many historians to use Carte's well-marshalled arguments without acknowledgment. Hume adopts the Lancastrian version of his fathomless depravity. Dr. Prothero (*Encyclopædia Britannica*) acts as "average adjuster": "His courage, energy, and ability would have made a great and honoured name had not those qualities been matched by extreme ferocity and unscrupulousness, and perverted to an evil use by the turbulence of the time and his own nearness to the throne."

NOTES TO HENRY VII

"In all the great states of the Continent the path to equality before the law lay through absolutism."—GARDINER AND MULLINGER, "Introduction to English History."

"Feudalism, in the most advanced countries, had breathed its last. In England it had fallen upon its own sword."—GOLDWIN SMITH, "The United Kingdom."

*A*1. *Henry Tudor.*—When he was born in 1457 his father had been dead two months, while his mother was not yet fourteen years of age. His whole boyhood and youth had been spent in escaping from one danger to another. "Never," says Mr. Gairdner, "was king so thoroughly disciplined by adversity before he came to the throne as was Henry VII." No wonder that to him "the felicity of full coffers had special attractions."

*A*2. *Was crowned*—(1) after the army had sung *Te Deum*, by Lord Stanley, on Bosworth Field; (2) by Cardinal Bouchier, Archbishop of Canterbury, on October 30th. Parliament met on November 7th.

*A*3. *Yeomen.*—The French text of Barrow says *yeomen* with an editorial footnote to the effect that they are Foot Guards at the English Court, as the French Cent-Suisses are at Versailles. Rapin notes that in his time there were a hundred in waiting daily, with seventy in reserve, and as one of the hundred died his place was filled from the seventy. The yeomen of the guard had a captain at their head. Henry had himself seen and noted the bodyguard of Louis XI.

*A*4. *The English Solomon.*—Barrow nevertheless, and in spite of his astuteness, calls him "the most self-seeking, miserly, and contemptible prince who ever filled the British throne." Carte says he "basked in the spoils of the ruined," and Rapin, following

Bacon, notes that he chiefly resembled Solomon in the heavy yoke he laid on his people.

*B*1. *He married Elizabeth*—his fourth cousin.

*B*2. *By this means.*—Henry was so jealous of his wife's popularity, and hated the Yorkists so much, that it was only after two years and two insurrections that he allowed his wife to be crowned. The first act of his reign, the imprisonment of Edward Plantagenet, Earl of Warwick (a boy of ten) and the seizing of his estates, was soon to be followed by similar conduct to his mother-in-law. His own mother, from whom he derived his right to the throne, being alive, added to the tenuity of all rights save that he was most loth to rely on—that "he came in by victory of battle, and that the king in possession was slain in the field" (*Bacon*).

*B*3. *Reunited.*—Bacon, in his dedication to Prince Charles Stuart, points out how Henry was that king to whom both unions may in a sort refer, "that of the roses being in him consummate and that of the kingdoms by him begun."

*C*1. *The Earl of Derby.*—He was beheaded, February 16, 1495, for complicity in the Perkin Warbeck plot. The Lord Chamberlain, remarks Rapin, was condemned for a crime of which few Englishmen were innocent, viz. for preferring the title of York to that of Lancaster. At this time Henry had, if not a secret society, at least what Lord Bacon called "the jarring intelligence of numberless spies" working for him.

*C*2. *Who left forty thousand silver marks, &c.—i.e.* at his castle of Holt (*Bacon*).

*D*1. *One million six hundred thousand pounds*—probably equal to eighteen millions sterling to-day (*Gairdner*).

*D*2. *Made good laws.*—His first was an Act to regulate the importation of aliens; then several against interest on loans, which was called usury (the king lent money on these terms to merchants); others against the nobles engaging retainers; another, that a woman might not be abducted against her will; others, that money, plate or bullion, also horses, be not exported: and that French wines should be shipped hither only in English ships (*Hume*). What may have been wisdom then was to become the mercantile heresy of three centuries later. Bacon considers him England's best law-giver, after Edward IV., for his laws

"are deep and not vulgar, not made upon the spur of a particular occasion for the present, but out of providence for the future."

*D*3. *Weakened feudalism—i.e.* by encouraging agriculture and by bleeding the rich. The exactions of Empson and Dudley were the income-tax and death-duties of the early sixteenth century.

*D*4. *The Brittany Transaction,—i.e.* what Hallam calls the timid and parsimonious hesitation with which he allowed Anne of Brittany to marry Charles VIII. of France. Napoleon sums up the subject far better than Barrow, and more concisely than Rapin. Parliament had voted the money for Henry to help Brittany, Henry could not find it in his heart to part with it, and made a truce with France,[1] even when the Duke's affairs were *in extremis*. The Duke in consequence had to make a precipitate and disastrous peace with King Charles VIII. He died a few months later, and his young daughter, to save her possessions, married the French king. Carte shows that the English had every reason to dread the union of France and Brittany, since—(1) they lost an ancient and useful ally; (2) it aggrandised their most dangerous neighbour, and enormously increased the quantity and quality of his sea-power. Barrow points out that the only time that Henry lavished money was during the Perkin Warbeck conspiracy [when, to use Bacon's phrase, that young man came as Duke of York "blazing and thundering" into England]; and this, together with Henry's looking at Warbeck through a window, so as to be unseen by his prisoner, rather points to Warbeck being after all Richard, Duke of York, not murdered in the Tower. Carte notes that all orders of men, great and small, in England, and all foreigners, believed this at the time. Carte is convinced, moreover, that Henry knew it. He makes out a very strong case, which, as usual, later historians have appropriated.

*D*5. *His memory.*—His memory can never be made a pleasant one, owing to his absolutely unlovable nature. Still the story of

[1] As the English king had made profit upon his subjects for the war, and upon his enemies for the peace, he had fulfilled his promise to Parliament that he would make the war maintain itself. An interesting feature of the war was that the Bretons dressed some of their troops in English clothes to strike terror into the French (*Hume*).

his difficulties is a first edition, although a pocket one, of those which Bonaparte himself had to brave three centuries later. The Thirty Years' War of Yorkist and Lancastrian had reduced England to the same need for a single strong rule that the Three Years' Terror had done for France. Both Henry and Napoleon were looked upon abroad as "adventurers";[1] in each case a crop of minor plottings was brought to light by a new system of espionage, yet the conspirators in general were leniently dealt with. But "the world is ruled by the imagination," and the sentimental aureole that shimmers the light of other days on a fallen dynasty must, like the Sun of Doom, be quenched in blood before lasting peace ensues. The execution of Warbeck and the murder of Warwick in 1499 gave Henry nearly ten years immunity from legitimist conspiracy; the execution of the Duc d'Enghien gave Napoleon the same. When Henry died his most dangerous rival was his own son and successor, and it is a general opinion that had he lived longer he would not have died king. Henry shared with Napoleon the thrift which has known poverty, combined with lavish generosity to genuine new light and learning. Ranke's masterly summing up of the character of Henry is even more suggestive of that of Napoleon: "Henry clipped his people's wings, to accustom them to obedience, and then was glad when they grew again. We find even that he made out a sketch of how the land should be cultivated so that every man might be able to live. The people did not love him, but it did not exactly hate him either: this was quite enough for Henry VII. . . . In his council sat men of mark, sagacious bishops, experienced generals, magistrates learned in the law: he held it to be his duty and his interest to hear their advice. And they were not without influence: one or two were noted as able to restrain his self-seeking will. But the main affairs he kept in his own hands. All that he undertook he conducted with great foresight, and as a rule he carried it through. Foreigners regarded him as cunning and deceitful; to his own people his successful prudence seemed to have something supernatural about it."

D6. One of the stateliest.—Bacon thus concludes his "History of King Henry VII.": "He was born at Pembroke Castle,

[1] "In foreign countries Henry was looked upon as a mere adventurer."—Freeman in *Encyclopædia Britannica.*

and lies buried at Westminster, in one of the stateliest and daintiest monuments of Europe, both for the chapel and for the sepulchre. So that he dwelleth more richly dead, in the monument of his tomb, than he did alive in Richmond, or any of his palaces. I could wish he did the like in this monument of his fame."

NOTES TO HENRY VIII

Carte, quoting mainly from Sir Thomas More, gives a glowing account of the joy of the people at this king's accession; how hidden treasures were once more brought in evidence and put into circulation and commerce; how oppressive statutes were rescinded, and extortioners in their turn oppressed. The handsome young king, "a rosy bloom and manly beauty shining in his face," was at once the joy of beholders, and the hope of the nation—a hope he never belied; for, as Gardiner points out, "there never was a man more representative of a people than was Henry VIII. of the England of his day." Goldwin Smith attributes the tact of the Tudors to the Celtic strain in their blood.

*A*1. *Henry was eighteen years old.*—Barrow says ten, but later gives Henry's birth June 28, 1491, which puts Napoleon on the right track.

*A*2. *At his father's death.*—Ostensibly to comply with his father's dying commands, Henry re-married Catherine six weeks later; and this time the marriage was consummated.

*A*3. *His remarkable knowledge.*—His elder brother died when he was eleven, but his father continued to encourage his son's education until his own death, lest young Henry's turbulent nature should lead him to less peaceable conquests. Barrow adds: "This prince took an inexpressible delight in conversing with men of learning, and became the most well-informed man of his age. Francis I., his contemporary, who was called the Father of the Muses, was far inferior. Henry spoke Latin and French fluently. He was a skilled musician. . . . He was excellent in all games, and was proud without ostentation." Pollard declares that his anthem, "O Lord, the Maker of all things," is still a favourite in most English cathedrals.

*B*1. *Flodden Field.*—It is very interesting to note how Napoleon has seized the vital points of this reign and ignored the relatively trivial. From an inhabitant of France we should expect to find that the fiasco of the English descent into Guienne, the Battle of Spurs, the capture of Thérouanne and Tournay, the fight of the Emperor as a volunteer in Henry's army ("the greatest honour ever paid to an English king"—*Carte*), would all bulk large, but not a word is recorded, not even the marriage of Louis XII. with Henry's sister Mary, nor the rose, the sword and cap, and finally the *Fidei Defensor* with which the Pope rewarded young Henry. All these, as well as Flodden, are very fully described by Barrow. Henry behaved very well to the Scots in the peace he now accorded them.

*B*2. *Ten thousand men.*—The English say twelve thousand (the Scots five thousand), including an archbishop, two bishops, four abbots, twelve earls, and seventeen barons. King James, who acted somewhat like Ahab at Ramoth-Gilead, and Richmond at Bosworth, got similar sized men, five in all, to wear like armour. He was never seen alive after the battle. The Earl of Surrey who, by threatening the Scotch communications, forced them to leave their hill and fight, lost five thousand men.

*C*1. *Wolsey.*—Born 1471, he went to Oxford as a mere boy, and becoming B.A. at fourteen was hence called "the boy bachelor." For educating the three sons of the Marquis of Dorset he was made Rector of Limington,[1] and there put in the stocks by Sir Amyas Paulet for being drunk.

*C*2. *The King's almoner.*—Wolsey owed this first step to fame to the Bishop of Winchester, who, feeling his own influence waning, resolved to introduce a new favourite who might avenge him.

*C*3. *Bishop of Lincoln*—by Leo X. A few months later Bainbridge, Archbishop of York, was poisoned by a servant in revenge for a blow, and the Pope asked Henry to choose a successor. He at once fixed on Wolsey, who also enjoyed the bulk of the revenues of Bath, Worcester, and Hereford—bishoprics filled by Italians.

*C*4. *Prime Minister.*—He became Prime Minister in 1513, and for seventeen years held supreme sway in England, and

[1] In Somerset, near Yeovil.

therefore, owing to the equal adjustment of Continental power, in Europe.

It is to be noted how closely Napoleon in his note-books confines himself to the main purpose of the study in hand, *e.g.* in reading Barrow he notes almost exclusively points in *English* history. In this reign there is no mention of Venetian troubles, or of Henry's share in the breaking-down of French predominance, by which prestige was restored to the Pope, who called himself Julius after Pompey's conqueror, and who, crossing the Tiber at the head of his army to fight the French, threw St. Peter's keys into the river and called for the sword of St. Paul. There is also no word of Martin Luther, nor of the continued treacheries of Ferdinand of Spain against his son-in-law Henry.

C5. Cardinal—in 1515. His hat, like Gessler's, was carried in front of him at a great height and by a person of rank. He was the first prelate who wore silk in his vestments, and used gold in his saddles. His servants numbered eight hundred.

D1. Bishop of Palencia.—The Pope allocated to him two thousand ducats on this See. The tortuous diplomacy of Wolsey, angling for the Popedom, ended in 1521 on the side of the Emperor Charles; and Henry was dragged into an alliance against Francis. The earlier part of these intrigues—the Emperor at Canterbury, and the two kings in the Vale of Ardres—find no place in Napoleon's Notes; nor is there mention of the engagement between Charles V. and Mary Tudor, which, if France had been handed over to Henry for life after Pavia, was to ensure to Charles or his children the empire of the world. Mary, however, was barely ten. Charles had no intention of waiting, and one of his archbishops conveniently found her illegitimate. This was a two-edged sword, and Henry retaliated with the Divorce Question.

D2. See of Badajoz.—Wolsey received it first from the Emperor Charles, but the Pope confirmed it. It was worth five thousand ducats a year to the Cardinal.

D3. Leo X.—Hume breaks into a higher strain of eloquence than usual in singing the praises of Leo X. To a man of Italian ancestry, whether Florentine prelate or Corsican conqueror, finesse is premised as a birthright; but, that being granted, Leo (like Napoleon later) was "humane, beneficent, generous, affable;

the patron of every art and friend of every virtue." From Machiavel to Metternich, craft has always been the hall-mark of diplomacy. When Ferdinand of Arragon was told that Louis XII. had once got the best of a bargain, he roared, "The drunkard lies; I have cheated him twenty times."

*D*4. *He was thrice a candidate for the Papacy—i.e.* when Leo X. became Pope, when Adrian (Charles V.'s old tutor) succeeded him, and when Julius Medici was elected (*Ranke*).

*D*5. *The See of Bath and Wells.*—Both Napoleon and Barrow use the plural, the former the *sees* of Bath and Wells, the latter the *bishoprics*. Later, Wolsey exchanged it for the See of Durham.

*E*1. *Luther offered.*—The full sentence in Barrow runs, "Luther, in order to justify his principles, wrote to Leo in most respectful and submissive terms; he even offered to put his life and doctrine at the feet of His Holiness."

*F*1. *Buckingham.*—He had been foolish enough to say, that if he became king he would make short work of Wolsey.

*F*2. *Heir of the King.*—He was descended from Edward III.'s youngest son. With him died the office of High Constable of England.

*F*3. *High Seneschal.*—Hume has Lord Steward, and other writers Lord High Treasurer.

*F*4. *A pamphlet.*—The words were that "it was not strange that the son of a butcher should delight in shedding blood."

*G*1. 1525.—This year, or the preceding, was the one of which it was said:

> "Turkeys, carps, hops, pickerel and beer
> Came into England all in one year."

*G*2. *Wolsey.*—Once more thwarted by the Emperor respecting the Papacy, Wolsey had seized the opportunity of the overthrow at Pavia to make peace with France and its captured king. To meet Charles in the full tide of his success would indeed require enormous sinews of war. Francis refused to be personally reinstated at the cost of national degradation; Napoleon took up a similar position early in 1813, *i.e.* neither wished to leave France smaller than it came to him.

*H*1. *A refusal from Parliament—i.e.* through its Speaker, Sir

Thomas More. Wolsey wished to return to the House to argue further, but he was told that it was the order of that House to hear, and not to reason, save among themselves. This was the beginning of Wolsey's downfall. The vaunted wealth of England, her only claim to the position Wolsey had acquired for her in Europe, proved inadequate for his plans, and with these fell England's prestige and Wolsey himself.

H2. Every one should give—i.e. every town should give what it pleased. Wolsey, alarmed at the general hostility to himself, had tried in vain to win over the Lord Mayor of London. Finally, he won the king's pardon, partly by showing that the judges were at fault in finding such a tax lawful, and more particularly by giving up to him the magnificent palace of Hampton Court.

I1. Henry notified.—Nothing in Napoleon's Note-Books is more interesting in itself than this paragraph. The parallel of the divorce of Josephine with that of Catherine was to become historically inevitable. In the beginning of things there could be no comparison, save that Josephine and Catherine were both widows and six years older than their husbands. Henry at the age of eleven had been compelled to marry a widow of seventeen. It is conceivable that at this age, being his father's son, the keeping of Catherine's dowry may have weighed with him slightly, but assuredly the continuance of good relations with Spain weighed even less. Catherine was distinctly plain, and the boy tried his best to avoid being dragged into this loveless marriage. Napoleon as a bridegroom was furiously in love, far more so than Josephine as bride, until she realised (some five years later) that, matrimonially a failure, she merited divorce. The pilgrimages to Plombières and its fecundising baths, at first pathetic, had become by 1809 (when she was forty-six) the jest of Europe. With Catherine the trouble was a different one, the children were born to Henry, but died—all but Mary ; and this mortality coincided with the Levitical curse on such a marriage as theirs. The religious aspect of the two cases was similar, and otherwise unique—in both cases a Pope was to all intents and purposes in the pocket of an emperor. But whereas Clement VII. was at the beck and call of Charles V., himself the nephew of Catherine and the enemy of England, Pius VII. had been kid-

napped for his treachery during the Wagram campaign, and was arraigned by his own cardinals at the behest of the petitioner himself. Henry had been married more than twice as long as Napoleon, over thirty years, while he, and especially his wife, had retained a far more spotless reputation than the Corsican and the Creole; but not more so, perhaps, than the respective times and climates warranted. Napoleon's need of a royal mate was important, and second only to the founding of a dynasty, but Henry's predicament (although in its inception the Spanish match was one of which war-worn England might well be proud) was even worse; his daughter had been rejected alike by Spain and France as unfit to continue a royal line, and this avowed illegitimacy would leave the succession an easy prey to the King of Scots—a thing repulsive alike to the English people and its king. Catherine had one great enemy, Wolsey; Josephine had many —Fouché always, Talleyrand and Napoleon's relatives intermittently; Lucien, in fact, had almost arranged the divorce and a marriage with a Spanish princess some eight years before the marriage with Marie Louise. The same period elapsed between the beginning and end of Henry's divorce question. In both cases the husbands found their new wives unfaithful; Henry, "the greatest widower in history," found characteristic redress and consolation, but Napoleon's trust, to the day of his death, in the mother of L'Aiglon, lights up like a silver lining the dark clouds that hover over St. Helena. Napoleon decreed that Josephine should always retain the rank and titles of Empress-Queen; Henry VIII., that Catherine should be known merely as the Dowager Princess of Wales.

12. *The Emperor Charles V.*—Some of the most interesting utterances of Napoleon at St. Helena refer to religion. After noting that at the time of its inception Mahomedanism, being more tangible and less subtle, made more progress in ten years than Christianity had made in three hundred, he goes on to show how important the psychological moment is, and that if he had not found all the elements of the Empire lying in the track of the Revolution some one else would. "A man is only a man. His methods are nothing if his environment and public opinion do not support him. Opinion rules everything. Do you think it was Luther who led the Reformation? No, it was public

opinion roused against Popes. Do you think it was Henry VIII. who broke with Rome? No, it was the public opinion of his nation who wished it so. Ah, good heavens! in the time of Francis I. France very nearly became Calvinist. A Council was held at Fontainebleau, and it was the Constable de Montmorency who stopped it. Besides that, the constant wish of France to dominate Italy had a share in the decision. Charles V. hesitated, even he; but, as ruler of a country essentially Catholic, he dared not. How enormous the attraction to escape from Popedom and to pocket the wealth of the clergy!"

13. Anne Boleyn.—Gardiner says, "Henry threw off the authority of the Pope simply because he was tired of a staid and elderly wife, and had fallen in love with a flighty young woman." This is a dangerous half-truth, and even less accurate and epigrammatic than Macaulay's definition of the English Reformation as a political dodge.

14. The Pope made him wait four years—first by one trickery, then by another. From the time he had been the Emperor's prisoner he was determined to keep in the latter's good graces. Moreover, Catherine's daughter Mary was even yet nominally engaged to Charles V., her cousin; and the Pope could hardly be a party to the bastardising of the Emperor's future wife. At the same time the Pope wished not to quarrel with Henry VIII. He therefore gave him Bulls for divorce, but ante-dated them to the time when he was a prisoner, so that he could repudiate them as void; then he sent word that the king should "marry the other woman" and afterwards sue for the divorce, as he was to condone a fault rather than to give permission for it (1528). But the Pope added, that on no account was king Henry to know that he had suggested this course, and Henry naturally looked on the whole affair as a trap. Then, when things became more acute, the Pope sent the king a letter in cipher, but took care that the key to the cipher should not be forthcoming. With the coming of Campeggio began further wiles, for now the Pope was once more at the mercy of the Emperor. (Rapin opines that had Henry possessed a good Mediterranean fleet[1] in 1528,

[1] Yet Henry had always an eye on his navy. He instituted Trinity House, and founded Deptford and Woolwich dockyards. He could also blow a boatswain's whistle "nearly as loud as a trumpet"!

the French would have held Naples and the Pope complaisant to Henry's views. So that the English Reformation resulted from our lack of sea-power !) The process began on June 18th, and by July 23rd nothing apparently was left but for the cardinal to give the verdict against Catherine, when Campeggio put off the case till October, alleging that this was a Consistory Trial, and subject therefore to the long Roman vacations. This gave time for a Papal avocation to arrive, summoning Henry and the case to Rome. This, of course, was against the laws of England, and otherwise unprecedented. It mortally offended Henry with Catherine. They parted July 14, 1531, and he never saw her again.

J1. The king's supremacy.—Tightly cornered as the clergy were, Hume notes how they managed to qualify and even nullify their admission that the king was the protector and the supreme head of the Church and clergy of England by the judicious reservation "in so far as is permitted by the law of Christ." This was spiritually a saving clause, but temporally their power was now the prerogative of Henry's "Imperial Crown." From Saxon times our portion of the tight little island has found it convenient periodically to call itself an Empire when it wishes to bulk (or think) continentally.

J2. Bishop of Rome.—A Bishop was engaged for the next year or two to preach regularly at Paul's Cross, in order to "inculcate the doctrine that the Pope was entitled to no authority at all beyond the bounds of his own diocese" (*Burnet*, quoted by *Hume*).

J3. Thomas Cromwell.—Green regrets that we know so little of this man, who shortly became the executioner of the English Terror, the Robespierre of the Reformation, and "the most terrible person in our history."

K1. 1530.—The Peace of Cambray, made by Margaret of Austria and Louisa of Savoy (a fine object-lesson of the administrative capacity of women as arbitrators). It left Charles and Francis friends, and the Emperor was publicly crowned by the Pope on St. Matthias Day (February 24th). This was Charles's birthday, and the anniversary of his victory at Pavia.

K2. Wolsey died—apparently of dysentery, but Cavendish

thinks he took poison at Sheffield Park, where he spent a fortnight on his way to London—a prisoner. Carte is loud in his praises, and declares that his administration did honour to his king, himself, and his country. His reputation dominated Europe, where, out of the thick darkness of political insignificance, England now blazed forth upon the world as a star of the first magnitude—its master a candidate for the Holy Roman Empire, and his minister for the Fisherman's Ring.

K3. In disgrace with his master—probably at the instigation of Anne Boleyn, for as Rapin shrewdly remarks, "none but a mistress could possibly make the king forget such a favourite."

K4. As wretched in his adversity.—Barrow is even more severe: "as little master of himself at the summit of his prosperity as in the depths of his adversity; in the first case he was unjust and cruel; in the other, abject, cringing, the mock of his persecutors:"—his face shrunk to half its former size, adds the French ambassador. He died as greatly an object of scorn as he had been during his life an object of jealousy. As Ranke says, he was neither a Ximenes nor a Richelieu. "He had no other support than the king's favour; without this he fell back into his nothingness. He was heard to wail like a child."

L1. The English, imbued with the reforms of Luther.—Hitherto the king had kept them back, but now that the Pope and Emperor were one he found patriotism, if not the last refuge of a scoundrel, at least a congenial pander to his desires. The clergy, all caught (like Wolsey) in the net of Præmunire, were at his mercy, but bought their pardon by presenting him with a gift of over a hundred thousand pounds. The Pope had been misled by his Nuncio, who declared that the English should be treated sharply and forcibly in order to gain their respect. Cranmer's appeal to the Universities had been wonderfully successful not only in England but abroad, and Paris, Orleans, Toulouse, Bologna, Padua, and Bruges had decided against the Pope.

L2. Lutheranism.—We have in this sentence a very useful comparison of how two clear lawyer-like minds refine the raw material. I append in three parallel columns Barrow's version, Napoleon's, and finally Hume's. We know Napoleon's source,

and doubtless Hume consulted the same sources as Barrow in this instance:

Barrow (Vol. VII., p. 219)	Napoleon's Note-Book (Henry VIII., *Z*1)	Hume (Vol. III., p. 29)
1531. The Protestant religion had already a considerable number of votaries in England; the writings and sermons of Wicliff and his disciples had made deep and lasting impressions on the minds of the people: they joyfully acquiesced in a doctrine which fitted in with their love of freedom, and which showed up the Pope's authority as a humiliating servitude, which from one corner of Europe imposed laws on an independent nation, and which deposed sovereigns at its pleasure.	The English, imbued with the reforms of Luther, and long inured to the innovations of the Lollards, were marching with rapid strides towards Lutheranism.	The rumour of these innovations soon reached England, and as there still subsisted in that kingdom great remains of the Lollards, the new doctrines secretly gained many partisans among the laity of all ranks and denominations.

The comment of Napoleon and Gourgaud on Hume at St. Helena is, that the work of Hume is a discourse on English history rather than history itself. (This was also Dr. Warton's view: "You may read Hume for his eloquence, but Carte is the historian for facts.") The Emperor admitted he had read no English history since he was at the Military School, but his recollection of the Reformation (apparently without having the period read to him) was vivid enough. Gourgaud speaks of Henry VIII., and is astonished that the English changed their religion so easily, and Napoleon replies: "On the contrary, it was the people who made the sovereign renounce it. The nation was already entirely Lutheran. Henry profited by it to declare himself Head of the Church. Conquerors ought to be tolerant and protect all religions. I succeeded in Egypt because with the followers of the Prophet I showed myself a Mussulman. In France we can no longer preach a new religion, there is not enough faith left for that, *l'esprit n'y est plus porté*. I made a

Concordat with the Pope to consolidate everything and attach to me, by means of this new arrangement, the true Catholics." Born in the Old Faith,[1] bred among priests, Napoleon could hardly have much sympathy with the Reformed Faith, of whom there were barely a million in France in his time (and the survival even of that number won his admiration, considering their centuries of persecution). We shall see him later describing Mary Stuart as a partisan of the *Christian* religion. On another occasion he tells Gourgaud that the Catholic religion is better than the Anglican: "The people does not understand what it sings at Vespers, it only sees the stage-effect. It is not necessary to elucidate subjects of this kind." In whatever religion or want of religion a man lives, Dr. Wendell Holmes thinks he will die most comfortably in that of the Roman Catholics. It appeals most to the imagination. Napoleon thought the same, and acted up to it, sending to his uncle the Archdeacon for three priests a few months before his death. He himself ordered them to begin the forty hours' prayers on May 2, became unconscious the next night, and died on the 6th.

*L*3. *A book against Luther—i.e.* concerning the Seven Sacraments. Henry considered himself, not without reason, as an advanced student of Thomas Aquinas, as was also Wolsey, but it was Luther's ridicule of this worthy that incensed the king. When the latter received the Bull making him Defender of the Faith his fool Patch archly remarked, "Prithee, good Harry, let thee and I defend one another, and let the Faith alone to defend itself."

*L*4. *In shaking off the Papal yoke he had not announced the abandonment of the Roman faith.—Cp.* Freeman in *Encyclopædia Britannica*: "The system of Henry has been epigrammatically described as Popery without the Pope." Henry had chosen the psychological moment for his great experiment—the prestige of the Papacy was at almost its lowest ebb, and when Clement died a few months later his dead body was stabbed by a Roman mob.

*L*5. *Two ecclesiastics and a legal practitioner.*—Thomas Bilney, Bayfield, a monk, and Baynham, a lawyer and gentleman of the Temple. Sir Thomas More behaved on this occasion with

[1] "Born a son of the Church" would approximate to the fact. "Le 15 août Madame revenait de l'église lorsque les douleurs la prirent."—*Gourgaud.*

atrocious bigotry and cruelty, but his patience was exhausted. Hitherto his gentler persuasions had not failed to make each delinquent a heretic "up to the fire exclusively."

L6. Burnt at the stake—at Smithfield.

M1. 1532.—Towards the end of this year, or beginning of the next, Henry privately married Anne Boleyn,[1] whom he had recently (September 1st) made Marchioness of Pembroke, with a pension of £1000 a year. Henry was now, like Napoleon in the same crisis of his life, forty-one years old—a time when, as Henry told the Speaker of the House, mere "appetites and heats abate."

M2. Annates.—From 1486 to 1532 these first-fruits of livings had aggregated the enormous sum of a hundred and sixty thousand pounds. They were first introduced as contributions to the Crusades, but had long been applied to other uses.

N1. As regards heretics—i.e. the accused were to be examined in open court. Henry IV.'s Act was to be abolished: "heretics were still to be burnt, but speaking against the Pope was declared no longer to be heresy. The king's consent was made necessary to ecclesiastical ordinances" (*Seebohm*, "Era of Protestant Revolution").

O1. Elizabeth Barton.—The monks were at the bottom of this imposition, and their conduct at this juncture paved the way for the destruction of the monasteries.

O2. Many monks—especially a Franciscan, called Peto. Hume's summary is again singularly like Napoleon's. "Many monks throughout England, either from folly, or roguery, or from faction, which is often a complication of both, entered into the delusion." Peto, preaching before the king at Greenwich, declared that Henry was surrounded by a cloud of lying prophets; but that he, like another Michaiah, warned him that the dogs should lick his blood, as they had Ahab's.

O3. Seven bishops—apparently clergy only are meant, viz. a vicar, three priors, and three monks from the Charterhouse. They were all drawn and quartered at Tyburn.

O4. Cranmer—had just married a second wife in Germany, and was very loth to become Archbishop.

O5. Thomas More and Fisher.—The first had so genial a

[1] Anne Boleyn was publicly crowned June 1, 1533, and the Princess Elizabeth born September 7th.

soul that he made three distinct jests between mounting the scaffold and losing his head. He was fifty-three. Bishop Fisher,[1] eighty years of age, had refused preferment, as he declared his Bishopric of Rochester was his wife and he would not desert her because she was poor. Pius III. called him Cardinal of Cardinals, but his head was off ere his cap arrived. Naturally what Rapin calls a thundering Bull followed. Hallam calls Fisher the "only inflexibly honest churchman of that age."

O6. Irregularities.—The Black Book of these crimes, as presented to the House of Commons by the Commissioners, showed that two-thirds of their members were living the most vicious lives. Napoleon knew too much of monks to like them. At St. Helena he told O'Meara, "I hated friars, and was the annihilator of them and of their receptacles of crime, the monasteries, where every vice was practised with impunity. A set of miscreants, who in general are a dishonour to the human race. Of priests I would always have allowed a sufficient number, but no *frati*."

O7. Two hundred thousand pounds.—Rapin says one hundred thousand, consisting of plate, goods and ornaments of the churches: even their bells and the lead from the roofs were taken away.

O8. The Bible was translated.—To this day the English clergy prize the Tindal-Tunstal incident as a never-to-be-forgotten triumph. The poverty of Tindal prevented the faulty English translation being revised. Judicious ridicule would have killed the book, and probably the English Reformation. But the zeal of the Bishop of London in buying up the rest of the edition and burning it, provided Tindal (as every one knows) with the necessary funds for his new edition.

O9. Parliament—had lasted six years. The longest so far during the English monarchy.

P1. Anne Boleyn.—Catherine of Arragon died early in January. Henry and Anne went to a ball the following day, and on May 19th Anne Boleyn was beheaded. Her guilt or innocence remains one of the unsolved problems of history. Probably she was neither better nor worse than Marie Antoinette. "As she was young and handsome," says Rapin, "without doubt she was not displeased to see the effect of her beauty upon all sorts of people,

[1] Bishop Fisher was really guilty of treason, for inviting Charles to invade England, but Henry did not know this.

imagining that the love she inspired greatly heightened her merit. We see too many ladies liable to this infirmity." She was very lavish (*i.e.* charitable, in Carte's phrase) with her husband's money, giving away fourteen thousand pounds during the six months before her death.

P2. A dead child—on the day Catherine of Arragon was buried.

P3. Seneschal or *high steward.*—Barrow uses the former word; Rapin the latter.

P4. Condemned to be burnt.—At first sight this strikes the English reader as an error, but it is perfectly correct. The king, however, had the option of mitigating the punishment to beheading, which he only did when Anne Boleyn confessed to prior relations with Lord Percy, now Duke of Northumberland; accusations which the latter denied upon his hopes of salvation, but which enabled Cranmer to pass the decree of divorce (May 17th) and declare her daughter Elizabeth illegitimate. The weakest link in Froude's chain of defence for Henry VIII. is this precipitate and cruel execution of Anne Boleyn. This impetuous husband, says Carte, "had pride enough to make him the most jealous of mortals, and the most furious in his jealousy." Anne was beheaded with a sword.

P5. The next day.—Towards the end of November, 1817, Gourgaud finds his master absorbed in history. "I am reading Hume," he said; "what a ferocious race these English are! Look at Henry VIII., who marries Lady Seymour the next day after he has had Anne de Boleyn's head cut off. We should not have done like that in France. Nero never committed such crimes. And Queen Mary! Ah! the Salic Law is a fine institution."

P6. Henry married Lady Jane Seymour.—This necessitated a new Parliament, which hastened to praise his self-denial in once more venturing upon matrimony. The Speaker compared him, for justice and prudence, to Solomon; for strength and fortitude, to Samson; and for beauty and comeliness, to Absalom.

Q1. Fox, Bishop of Hereford—i.e. of Cranmer's party; Lee, Archbishop of York, Stokesley, Bishop of London, Tunstal of Durham, and Gardiner of Winchester, led the Papal opposition.

Q2. Purgatory.—Prayers for the dead were encouraged, but in general terms only. Purgatory had got so mixed up with Papal

perquisites that it was necessary to discountenance the abuses which had choked up what was, and probably is, the only rational pivot of Eschatology.

Q3. Nor (believe) in the Pope.—The death of Anne Boleyn, and the taking into favour of the Princess Mary, seemed to Pope Paul III. a favourable opportunity to try to adjust differences with the English king. But Henry was now at the very pinnacle of absolute power in English history, Parliament and clergy vying with each other in servile attempts to forestall his slightest wish. Parliament therefore at once passed a new Act, still further clipping the wings of the Bishop of Rome.

Q4. The greatest commotion among the people—ending in the Pilgrimage of Grace. The nobles at heart were with the people, and hated to see the buildings, erected and endowed by their ancestors, dismantled and vandalised. Some of them believed that their forefathers must now remain in purgatory, since the daily prayers for the dead in monasteries and convents had come to an end. Barrow is very severe on what he deems the ferocity and treachery with which Henry broke faith respecting his promises to the York rebels. Never did he so reveal himself his father's son. Rapin is more judicial, but of the same opinion. Floods on the Don near Doncaster twice served the Royal army when the rebels had six times as many men.

R1. The Queen gave birth to a prince—i.e. at Hampton Court. Some say that she died on the third day of the usual fever, but others write that to save the child the surgeons used her so badly that she died of the effects: modern writers lean to her death on the twelfth day. Henry apparently cared little at the time about losing a wife in his pride at having a male heir. He had always found Jane Seymour discreet, humble, and loyal, so that after her death, as Lord Herbert quaintly records, "he continued a widower above two years, notwithstanding some good offers." These included the hand of the charming widow, Christina, Duchess of Milan.

R2. His uncle—i.e. Jane Seymour's brother.

S1. All the monasteries dissolved.—Henry was philosopher enough to know that though apologists could be found for vice, no apologists for ridicule need be looked for. Hence his leaving the clumsy mechanism of the oracles intact, so that the people

might touch and handle the objects of their former credulity and devotion. The crucifix of Boxley, known as the "rood of grace," could roll its eyes, move its limbs, &c. Perhaps the most amusing imposture was the supposed blood of Christ at Hales, in Gloucestershire, which no sinner could see. It was really duck's blood,[1] renewed weekly, placed in a vial with one side opaque and the other transparent. The vial was placed near the altar in a dim religious light in such a manner that the concealed operators could turn it at pleasure. Naturally the opaque side only was visible until the victim had subscribed his last coppers.

S2. The treasures carried off—including the priceless diamonds with which two kings of France, Henry I. and Louis VII.,[2] had adorned it. It took eight men to lift the two chests containing the treasure. The head of St. Thomas, worshipped as the relic of that saint, was found not to be his, as the real one with his body was found in his tomb. All were destroyed. This aroused the fury of Rome, instigated chiefly by Cardinal Pole. Henry was compared to Balthazar, to Nero, Domitian, Diocletian, and especially to Julian the Apostate. Excommunication followed. Henry replied by ordering the new English translation of the Bible to be read in the chief Churches, and the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the Ten Commandments to be always read in English.

S3. His feast-day—i.e. the day of his translation, July 7th, when his body was lifted from its tomb. This anniversary was a holiday in honour of one who for over three hundred years had been accounted one of the greatest saints in heaven, and every fifty years a general jubilee had been held with a fortnight's holiday in his honour.

S4. John Nicholson—alias Lambert, minister to the English merchants at Antwerp, a pupil of Tindal, then a London schoolmaster. Honest enough to declare his objections to the doctrine of Transubstantiation, he was arraigned in Westminster, and the king with nine other learned theologians argued with him, but evidently got the worst of it, as Henry finally offered him the choice of recanting or being burnt. He decided for the latter punishment, which was carried out in the most inhuman manner

[1] Or coloured gum.
[2] The latter stone was afterwards worn by Henry VIII.

on record. Bishop Gardiner was the main cause of this cruel sentence.

T1. Cranmer opposed.—He was fighting for his own married life, but finally had to send back his wife to her uncle in Germany till better times. So long as auricular confession was held necessary to salvation it is manifest that the clergy were better unmarried. There is always a rule-of-thumb common-sense about the Tudor decrees at their time of issue. This year, "the birthday of Protestantism," the King's Bible was allowed to be purchased by every Englishman for home use. This was Cranmer's counter-blast against his enemy's work—the Bloody Statute. "The Bible in English," says Goldwin Smith, "is the sheet anchor by which the Reformation will henceforth ride out all reactionary storms."

T2. The number of monasteries abolished—also ninety colleges. (Barrow's figures are from Camden.) With the money accumulated Henry founded the bishoprics of Oxford, Peterborough, Bristol, Chester, and Gloucester. Rapin gives the number of monasteries as six hundred and forty-three. The monks and nuns aggregated eight thousand, and their dependents eighty thousand.

U1. 1540.—This year Pope Paul III. instituted the Order of Jesus: as memorable an event for the resurrection of Catholicism as the Act of Supremacy for that of the Anglican Church Militant.

U2. The King married Anne of Cleves.—Every one knows the story of how Henry went incognito to view his new bride on her way to London, and how he found her so different from Holbein's painting that he called her a Flemish mare. She also could speak nothing but Dutch. But what he said the day after the marriage, as recorded by both Burnet and Stow and quoted by Rapin, is perhaps less well known. His wife's chief defect was very like that of Josephine as commented on by Napoleon at St. Helena. The sweet breath of Marie Louise, which made Napoleon advise his Generals to marry Germans, was conspicuously absent in Anne of Cleves. This Protestant match had been forced on Henry by the alliance of Francis I. and Charles V., and by the threats of a Papal crusade.

U3. Cromwell was made Earl of Essex—the last of the previous line having just broken his neck on a young horse.

U4. The Order of St. John of Jerusalem.—Later named

Knights of Malta, an Order with which Napoleon was to have special relations on his way to Egypt.

U5. He died.—Just as Anne Boleyn and Protestant influence ruined Wolsey, so her cousin Catherine Howard and the Catholic faction ruined the Mallet of the Monks. Luckily, Cromwell's son had married a sister of the late Queen, Jane Seymour, which won him Henry's pardon, and restitution of property after the father's execution.

U6. Of obscure birth.—His father was a blacksmith, or a locksmith, at Putney. He was a soldier in Bourbon's army at the sack of Rome.

U7. He had been Wolsey's servant.—This Napoleon records from the earlier part of the reign. Cromwell had a marvellous memory alike for words and faces:—he had the Latin New Testament by heart, and, like Napoleon, never forgot an old acquaintance. The setting up of the King's Supremacy and the Suppression of the Monasteries are the great lighthouses that illumine his name.

V1. The annulling of his marriage.—The lady was, unlike his first wife, no obstacle. When he suggested that she should be made his adopted sister with over three thousand pounds a year (say £36,000 a year to-day), she accepted the terms joyfully and determined to live in England.

V2. Catherine Howard—was own cousin to Anne Boleyn. This marriage made it necessary to legitimise the Princess Elizabeth.

W1. Many persons were executed—i.e. three Lutherans for heresy and three Catholics for asserting the Pope's supremacy. One of each sort were tied together on a hurdle, and the three hurdles drawn to Smithfield, where the Lutherans were burnt and the Catholics hanged.

X1. The Queen . . . perished on the scaffold—and thoroughly deserved it. The account in Carte is very full and explicit.

Y1. 1543.—This year an Act enabled the greater nobility and the less, *and merchants*, to possess an English Bible.

Y2. Ireland.—Previously the English monarch had been called Lord and not King of Ireland. About this time the Scotch invaded England, to their own cost. In the English march north, however, the Earl of Southampton died, of whom

Barrow writes: "The king lost in him a faithful servant, the nation a great politician, the navy a skilful admiral, and the army a brave general."

Z1. *Catherine Parr.*—Henry was her third husband, Edward Borough being her first. Her brother was made Earl of Essex. This unlucky peerage was held in the days of the Rye House Plot by the hero of an English romance translated into French, of which Napoleon made a summary in his Note-Books. Arthur Capel and the ill-fated Robert Devereux will be met with later in the cullings from Barrow.

*Aa*1. *The order of succession.*—Napoleon gives the Act as it operated. It was really much more fantastic. Prince Edward and his children came first, but then were to follow not only any male children Henry might have by Catherine Parr, but *by every other wife he should marry in the future;* then came Mary and her children, and finally Elizabeth and hers.

*Aa*2. *A strange Act.*—The king's creditors were ordered to forgive their debts, and to return any dividends they had received. The love of people and Parliament for Henry VIII. endured because he never seriously acted contrary to the popular will. He was the incarnate *Daily Telegraph* of the sixteenth century, never actually leading public opinion, but always marching level with the vanguard. Ranke thus sums up his character: "Men are to him only instruments which he uses and then breaks to pieces; but he has an incomparable practical intelligence, a vigorous energy devoted to the general interest; he combines versatility of view with a will of unvarying firmness."

*Ab*1. *Anne Askew*—for refusing to believe in the Real Presence in the Sacrament. She told her judges that she had heard that God made man, but not that man could make God. Her beauty and the staunch serenity with which she bore the rack rather than implicate her friends (of whom the Queen was chief) have rendered her a minor landmark in the history of the time.

*Ab*2. *Gardiner*—murderer of John Nicholson, author of the Bloody Statute ("The Whip with Six Thongs").

*Ac*1.—*At last the King himself died*—too late to save the life of the Earl of Surrey, but just in time to save that of the Duke of Norfolk. Napoleon evidently shares the conventional horror for

Henry VIII., and makes no allowance for the physical tortures of his last years. Even then, his uniform kindness and regard for Cranmer show that King Harry not only "loved a man," but recognised a true Christian when he found him. Mr. Pollard calls Henry "the most remarkable man who ever sat on the English throne," but this phrase is not as accurate as that of Mr. Gairdner ("Dictionary of National Biography"), who speaks of his "unique position among English monarchs." Considering that Luther and Charles V. had in their different ways maimed the Papacy and made its thunders contemptible, Henry VIII. was a less remarkable figure on the stage of History than William I. or Henry II.: not more so than Edward I. or III.

As usual, Carte's summing up of Gray's "majestic lord that broke the bonds of Rome" is worth reading. Pride and avarice were Henry's earlier besetting sins, and in the second half of his life, boundless wilfulness. "After all, it must be owned that he was a great king; that he was courted by all the potentates of Christendom; and whether it was owing to their sense of his zeal for the general good of his realm, to his care of their commerce, to the quiet and happiness which they enjoyed under him, or to the glorious figure which he made in Europe, and the honour which thence redounded to the nation, he died not only reverenced, but even beloved and lamented, by his subjects."

NOTES TO EDWARD VI

*A*1. *The Earl of Hertford*—Edward Seymour, Viscount Beauchamp, belonged to a good old family that came over with William the Conqueror. Rapin's praise is high: "He was humble, affable, civil, courteous, and guided in all the transactions of his life by the principles of honour, virtue, and religion, which are seldom found in the men of the world." Respecting the choice of Hertford, Carte has a very interesting note on the conduct to be preserved during a minority. Technically the lineal descendant is as much king in point of authority when one year old as when forty; but in practice, from a rule observed by the ancient Britons, the Scotch Highlanders, and the Irish Septs, the administration fell into the hands of the next heir male of full age who as Tutor was also capable of leading the Clan or Sept into the field. This of course put women out of the running.

*A*2. *Protector*.—The office was no sinecure. Henry's will was as masterful a document as his living deeds. Edward's majority was fixed at the age of fifteen (Rapin says eighteen), and till then the sixteen Executors were to be his Governors and Tutors, with a Privy Council to consult and guide them. The Protector was to do nothing without the consent of a majority of the other Regents.

*B*1. *Preston Pans*.—As the dominating personality of Edward I. had urged upon his son and his nobles the necessity of following up the Scotch War, so the executors of Henry VIII. felt it incumbent to insist—even at the sword's point—on the Scottish match. Poor little Mary Stuart! It would have been a happier lot to have married ten-year old Edward than to have waited for the blood-corrupted child of that Messalina of the sixteenth century—Catherine de Medicis. Whether Mary Stuart could in every sense have made Mary Tudor unnecessary, whether the child of

Mary Guise or the grandchild of Henry Tudor would have surpassed in craft and dissimulation, is another question. The French alliance crippled Scotch freedom of action—otherwise the suggestion made after Pinkie of a truce till Mary was old enough to choose a husband, could hardly have been refused.

*B*2. *Pinkiecleugh*—a nobleman's seat near the battlefield, some five miles from Edinburgh.

*B*3. *The Scots lost*—among other things thirty thousand lances and swords, and thirty cannon. The English fleet (thirty warships, thirty merchantmen with provisions) was nigh at hand to carry off the spoils. The battle was quite of the nature of a Viking raid, in which the side that could send their reserves to ships for fresh ammunition—even if only stones—were necessarily conquerors over those who had parted with their missile weapons —even in victorious fight.

The sail of the gallant *Villegagnon* from the Firth of Forth round the Orkneys to Dumbarton with four tiny galleys, and thence with Mary Stuart to Brittany, was a very fine piece of seamanship.

*B*4. *The English lost*—under two hundred altogether.

*C*1. *A decision of Parliament*—Napoleon is wrong. The French edition of Barrow says, "On *rendit* un arrêt" *i.e.* they gave it up. His note is "Un arrêt du Parlement de cette année *accorda* à toute proclamation." They were two sections of two late Acts of Henry VIII.'s reign, which somewhat reluctantly and only partially were allowed to be annulled by Somerset. Such Acts would in course of time have made Parliaments useless. This is Rapin's view, while Hume speaks of "that law, the destruction of all laws."

*C*2. *The Reformation legalised.*—One feature of the time was the scramble of the courtiers for the old Church endowments. The king of his own act gave up his share of the revenues of suppressed colleges and chantries, for the foundation of the splendid system of grammar schools which still keeps his memory green. The monks were beneficent landlords, and the new agricultural règime (sheep supplanting cereals) evoked insurrections, chiefly in Devon and Norfolk, which were put down by the nobles, aided by German and Italian mercenaries. It was one of the charges brought later against Somerset that he

sympathised with these rebels. For this reason Warwick and not Somerset was set against Ket in the Eastern Counties, and it was Warwick's harshness on this occasion that gave Mary a sure rallying-place in this district when she claimed the crown on Edward's death.

C3. The king was on its side.—The fact that Cranmer headed the list of Governors in Henry's Will, and that Gardiner had finally been struck out, shows the last inclinations of the late king. Rapin points out that Cranmer had the excellent habit of not interfering in State affairs, and of proceeding slowly and gently in Church Reforms, but that "he was as the first mover of whatever was done with regard to the Reformation." Cranmer, to whom the child wrote letters in Latin when only eight, was one of Edward's godfathers.

D1. The Liturgy—which, as Barrow observes, is almost the same as that in vogue to-day. The Communion Service had been printed the year before. Calvin very much wished to interfere and improve our service, but Cranmer kept him at a distance, "knowing the busy, pragmatical, overbearing temper of the man." Melancthon, on the other hand, was invited to come over; although not able to do so, he gave considerable help, and the Forty-two Articles were on the lines of those framed by him for Saxony, and by Brenz for Swabia.

E1. The Admiral.—A hot, proud and haughty man, says Rapin, but with greater talents than his brother. His ambition made him aspire to marry first the Princess Elizabeth, and then, when that was impossible, Henry's much-married widow, who died in child-bed, September 1548—not without suspicion of having been poisoned by her husband. The child lived. Somerset's wife had fanned the flames of quarrel from the time she had to give precedence to her younger brother-in-law's wife. The Admiral's plottings (including tampering with the Bristol Master of the Mint) had forced his brother to end the Scotch war just when success was almost in his grasp. Although less than a dozen out of four hundred members in the Commons voted against the Bill of Attainder, the evidence against the Admiral was somewhat flimsy. There seems, however, little room to doubt that he, Lord High Admiral of England, was in league with the pirates in the Channel. Queen Elizabeth declared later that had the Admiral

asked his brother's pardon he would have been forgiven. With such an object-lesson of fatal pride she ought, herself, to have been more merciful to the Earl of Essex.

E2. The Earl of Warwick.—John Dudley was, says Carte, "an artful, false, insinuating and intriguing nobleman, of great parts and infinite ambition." Freeman (*Encyclopædia Britannica*) remarks that "he was the son of the notorious agent of Henry VII., the father of the notorious favourite of Elizabeth."

F1. Duke of Somerset.—Rather than have three wars on hand he paved the way for the restitution of Boulogne,[1] which Henry VIII. had promised to restore in 1554. Churches and other buildings were being pulled down and churchyards removed to build Somerset House. St. Margaret's, Westminster, barely escaped. These were two causes of his unpopularity. But, like a great Prime Minister of our own time, he had no very fixed convictions as to his own judgment, and, as Carte well notes, "When a man deserts himself, he is soon deserted by those who would otherwise have espoused his cause."

F2. Thus ended this upright man.—We have already noted how true nobility of life and action (*e.g.* Simon de Montfort) always draws an original note of admiration from the young military student—now, as always, an excellent judge of character, though in actual life his heart pardoned where his head condemned, as with Fouché and Talleyrand repeatedly during the last ten years of his reign. Charles V. probably helped to bring about the fall of the Great Protector.

G1. The king died.—His half-brother, the gallant Earl of Richmond, had already succumbed to consumption. Edward, however, had successfully passed through measles and small-pox barely a year before his death. Over-doses of mineral medicines were the proximate cause of death.

G2. He was very learned.—At nine he wrote Latin letters to his father; soon after he spoke French as well as English. The Master of Eton taught him manners, philosophy, and divinity. After his death a great Italian physician described him as the wonder of his age, and this was high praise in the middle of the

[1] It was restored by the Earl of Warwick in 1550 on payment by the French of four hundred thousand crowns.

sixteenth century. He inherited some of his father's callousness to bloodshed, and his Diary is rather a heartless effusion.

G3. Lady Jane Grey.—Her mother, Frances, Duchess of Suffolk, was living and the real heiress to the crown. Jane and her husband were only in their sixteenth year. "If merit," writes Carte, "could entitle anybody to a crown, this young lady had a great deal to plead; all the graces in nature conspired to improve the exquisite beauty of her face, and to give her charms of so universal and irresistible an influence that she was generally called the Queen of Hearts: but her mind was still more admirable. She was the only person that seemed not to know her own perfections; modest, mild, affable, condescending and obliging to all," yet without sinking below her dignity. Her knowledge at fifteen was exceptionally great, even for the period. Commenting on her acquirements, Rapin says, "What a noble pattern is here for the education of young ladies of quality, and how different from the modern way of bringing them up."

G4. She was in fact crowned—for ten days. (Rapin says nine.)

G5. Mary gained the day.—Veneration for the memory of Henry VIII. and for his Will, hatred of the Dudleys and of what Gardiner calls "an unprincipled band of robbers who chose to call themselves a government," and Elizabeth's help to Mary, were the chief causes. Sea-power had its share in her success—the fleet at Yarmouth, intended to block her escape, declaring for her. On Northumberland's craven conduct when he found the game was up we have Ranke's caustic comment: "These English nobles have boundless ambition, they grasp with bold hand at the highest prizes: but they have no inner power of resistance, as against the course of events and public opinion they have no will of their own." Rapin's remark is that "this is the common character of men whom fortune raises above their birth or merit." As a compliment by antithesis, no greater —though unintentional—was ever paid to Napoleon than these verdicts by a German and a Frenchman on the ordinary adventurer.

Mary also gained the day by her celerity and initiative. She was within seventeen miles of London and of the prison awaiting her there, when she heard of Edward's death. One of her

servants having died suddenly, she feigned fear of the Plague and travelled nearly eighty miles without stopping, till she got to Kenning Hall in Norfolk. Thence she wrote instanter to the local gentry, and the next day to the towns and nobility in various parts of the kingdom. At first the nobles were backward and the response evasive, but when a few gentlemen came in the contagion of example spread. "The nine days' wonder of Jane's reign was followed by the five years' reign of Mary."

NOTES TO MARY

*A*1. *The first Queen.*—This is Napoleon's note—not Barrow's, whose verdict is that she was her people's bane, and tormented them to the last moment of her life. Napoleon realises that statements of this kind are merely matters of opinion, and sticks to the facts; even when, as here, he has to dig them up for himself. Curiously enough all the four claimants to the Crown were women—Mary, Elizabeth, Mary Stuart, Lady Jane Grey; but as Elizabeth and the Queen of Scots did not press their claims, Mary had no formidable rival. Freeman points out that even the Empress Matilda had never been crowned.

*B*1. *Duke of Northumberland*—hated by the people for the execution of the Protector Somerset, and by the nobles for his limitless ambition. Had he not been Lady Jane Grey's father-in-law, Edward's will would probably have taken effect and Mary remained uncrowned.

*B*2. *Gardiner.*—An infinitely wiser and less cruel man than Bonner. So long as he lived his old foe Cranmer was safe—partly, it is true, because Gardiner dreaded Cardinal Pole at Canterbury.

*D*1. *Philip, King of Spain, married Mary.*—They were married at Winchester on Wednesday, July 25, the feast of St. James—the patron saint of Spain. Philip was twenty-nine, but already a widower for the second time, and she was thirty-eight. Philip's revenues at this time, says Strype, aggregated some two and a half million pounds sterling. Enormous Spanish bribes had been used to obtain a new and complaisant Parliament, but the match was intensely unpopular. The Navy was foremost in evincing its dislike. The English fleet which should have escorted Philip from Spain showed such hostile intent that it was disbanded, and English ships fired on the Spanish fleet in the Channel, with Philip on board, because it had not vailed its flag to England's.

An Act was passed making mutilation and imprisonment for life the punishment for questioning in print the right of Philip to his title of King of England, but this was generally evaded, at least in conversation, by calling him the Queen's husband. Venal as the House of Commons undoubtedly was, it refused unanimously to allow Philip to be crowned, even as her consort. Yet Philip had done some kind actions—especially to the Princess Elizabeth and Courtney. The latter, to evade (as he hoped) espionage, went to Italy to travel, and was probably poisoned there by the Imperialists. He left no issue, "being the eleventh and last Earl of Devon of that noble and ancient family" (*Carte*). In 1553 the Emperor Charles, seriously ill with gout and occasionally out of his mind, sent for his son, and Philip sailed on August 29th, heartily sick of his unhealthy wife, with whom he had been, says Carte, so continually that "from the time of their marriage they had never been asunder day nor night, except at meals." He probably had no intention of returning. Carte, whose history of this reign[1] is the best written in the eighteenth century, adds as usual quaint details. Philip removed his furniture, his guards, and his servants from England by degrees, "leaving only some of his band of music with her." She remained, however, inconsolable.

D2. The conditions.—Carte gives fifteen of them; they fill over three pages in Barrow. Philip was to be King of England, but not to touch its revenues, or its laws; if Mary died childless his title was to lapse; the eldest child of the match was to inherit the English empire, and also Burgundy and the Netherlands; in England his servants should be English; Philip should take nothing of value, not even a jewel, out of the kingdom—even the Franco-English alliance should not be disturbed. Mary's jointure was to be sixty thousand pounds a year—a third of which was to be levied in the Low Countries. The Treaty of Alliance was drawn up by Gardiner with his usual skill. His object was first to dazzle and then hoodwink the British Parliament. As a matter of fact the danger of gravitation and absorption was as dangerous for England in the Spanish marriage as for Scotland had Mary Stuart married Edward VI. Mary and Philip were finally crowned King and Queen of England, France, Naples, and Jerusalem, together with, Barrow adds, other pompous titles.

[1] *Cp.*, for example, the re-capture of Sark, vol. iii. p. 346.

These were Archdukes of Austria, Dukes of Milan, Burgundy, and Brabant; Counts of Hapsburg, Flanders, and Tyrol.

F1. The Wyatt conspiracy.—The hatred of the Spanish match had descended even to schoolboys. Two troops were formed, one called Wyatt's Army, the other that of the Prince of Spain and Queen Mary. A furious battle resulted (not as at Brienne with snowballs); the latter army was defeated, and the boy who played the Prince of Spain captured and taken to a gallows, where he would inevitably have been strangled if men had not intervened. Mary was so furious that she had many of the boys imprisoned, and wished to execute one as an example.

F2. A double pretext—i.e. to execute Lady Jane Grey, seeing that her father, the Duke of Suffolk, had taken part in the conspiracy, and to increase Mary's harshness to Protestants. Wyatt was a Catholic, but had seen so much Spanish cruelty when in Spain that he felt it his duty to try to prevent the Spanish match. He was a better poet than conspirator, but was so nearly successful that Mary promised to give up Philip if he would disband his troops. He was too dilatory—missing success thereby at Rochester, Greenwich, Deptford, Southwark, and Brentford. His rebellion served Mary with a pretext of which Carte declares she took fuller advantage than any tyrant or government in the past. Courtney was sent to Fotheringay Castle; Elizabeth barely escaped with her life; and twenty gibbets were set up in different parts of London, where daily executions took place.

H1. Cardinal Pole.—Although he had never taken priest's orders he had almost attained the Papacy on the death of Paul III. Less headstrong than Gardiner, the reforming of the clergy was left to him, and the extirpation of heresy to Gardiner. The Statute of Provisors was dispensed with in his case, and he entered England as Papal legate. The Lords and Commons of England knelt to receive his absolution, though the concordat had been a difficult one to arrive at—the forty thousand holders of ravished church property standing in the way and refusing to restore anything. His mother, the gallant old dame who in Henry's reign had made the executioner "woo her" for her head with his axe, had been Mary's godmother and favourite governess.

H2. Rogers—the first martyr of the reign, was the most popular of English Protestant preachers. *Hooper* was burnt in

his own diocese over a slow fire of green faggots, and one of his arms fell off consumed before he expired after three-quarters of an hour's torture.

H3. Latimer and Ridley.—The manner of their death, in front of Baliol College, is one of the best-known landmarks in English history. Barrow remarks that they were the two most virtuous men who had as yet died for religion.

H4. The virtuous Cranmer.—He was sixty-seven. After the atrocious calumny of the sonorous but slipshod Macaulay in his "History of England," it is interesting to find the straightforward survey given by Carte. "His patience in torment, and his courage in dying, were wonderful, and not outdone by any of the primitive martyrs. Henry VIII. seemed to have prognosticated the manner and cause of his death when he made him change his paternal coat of arms, which was three cranes, for three pelicans, feeding their young with their own blood. He was a man with an open and generous temper, exemplary and unaffected piety, of great abilities, learning, judgment; indefatigable in his searches after truth; abstemious in his own way of living, and spending all his revenue in charity to the poor and pensions to learned men abroad; admired by all, and generally beloved for his gentleness, moderation, humanity, and equanimity; constant to his friends in all circumstances of their affairs, and kind even to his enemies." Hallam says coldly that his fame has brightened in the fire that consumed him.

H5. A woman.—One of two daughters executed with their mother, Catherine Gouches, in Guernsey. Their crime was not going to church, and they were condemned by Jacques Amy, the Dean of Guernsey. The Judge who ordered the child to be thrown again into the fire was named Gosling, the bailiff of the island.

H6. Religious houses.—Here the Lords reasserted themselves. They had participated, chiefly by the spoliation of the monasteries, and, as they said with hands on swords, they would know how to preserve their own.

I1. Gardiner.—He was the illegitimate son of Lionel Woodville, Bishop of Sarum, who was nephew of Elizabeth Woodville, wife of Edward IV.

J1. A Commission . . . of twenty-one judges—of whom three could form a quorum for their cruel practices.

*K*1. *Calais.*—It had only a garrison of five hundred, and (having taken the victor of Creçy eleven months to subdue) was taken by Francis of Guise in a week; Guînes and Ham were seized a week later: and thereby the last possessions in France were lost. Philip had warned Mary, but in vain. A north-east wind had hindered the sending of any help from England.

*L*1. *Two hundred and eighty-four victims.*—Besides, adds Carte, "such as were thought to be made away in prison, and some hundreds killed by starving, stinks, and various kinds of tortures and hardships; to say nothing of eight hundred exiles."

*M*1. *The Queen died*—and within the day Cardinal Pole. "Every dreary year of her inglorious reign was blackened by remarkable disasters, and by such acts of injustice, rapine, violence, oppression, and tyranny, as Spanish counsels only could have suggested: and having reduced the nation to the brink of ruin, she left it, by her seasonable decease, to be restored by her admirable successor to its ancient prosperity and glory" (*Carte*). It is perhaps poetic justice that in a historian bearing the name of Gardiner we find the best palliation of Mary's character. Wolsey was her godfather, and she was born when Henry was an assiduous and faithful husband. She had her father's loud voice as well as his hawk-like celerity of action, determination, and bravery. She had many suitors—Francis I. and his son Henry II., Charles V. and his son Philip II. being the four most important. The nine-years' Divorce Question broke her spirit and hardened her heart. She was not allowed to see her mother, even on her deathbed, and, because she would not admit her own illegitimacy, was ordered to serve as lady-in-waiting on her own baby half-sister, Elizabeth. Anne Boleyn thirsted for her life, and Cranmer alone saved it. She told the Spanish Ambassador that prior to meeting Philip she had never known what it was to love;—she was then a withered elderly woman with grey hair. Mary Tudor had as little reason to love England and the English as Mary Stuart Scotland, and England's dislike to Philip was but a crowning offence. To all intents and purposes it was she, and neither Gardiner nor Bonner, that re-established the Heresy Laws and re-lit the Smithfield fires. For this she is rightly execrated, for monarchs, like trees, must be known by their fruits.

NOTES TO ELIZABETH

"Queen Elizabeth, both in her natural endowments and her fortune, was admirable among women, and memorable amongst princes."—BACON.

"A sight without a parallel, these two Queens in Albion, haughty and wondrous creatures of nature and circumstances."—RANKE.

A1. Elizabeth.—Again the claimants were all women, this time three—Mary Queen of Scots and Dauphiness of France; Frances, the daughter of Henry VIII.'s second sister, widow of the Duke of Suffolk and mother of Lady Jane Grey; and Elizabeth herself. The House of Lords decided on Elizabeth, and the Commons at once concurred. Elizabeth was twenty-five and, as Rapin puts it, "tolerably handsome," or in the words of Hume, "possessing all the graces and insinuation, though not all the beauty of her sex."

A2. Having come to the throne.—The first event of the reign as stated by Barrow was the headlong manner in which Philip of Spain, his third wife barely buried, offered his hand to Elizabeth, with the promise of a Papal dispensation for the purpose, a plain indication the Papacy was now, as thirty years earlier, the mere puppet of Spain. Had Elizabeth recognised the validity of a Papal dispensation to marry a brother-in-law, it would have stultified the divorce of Catherine of Arragon, and confirmed her own illegitimacy. Yet she owed her life probably and her kingdom certainly to Philip. France was preparing to fight strenuously for the right of the Dauphiness, and England was in an ill plight for war.

A3. In a short time she succeeded.—"Elizabeth gloried in the reformation she had established, and the foreign world stood amazed at her having done it with such apparent facility, and without the least disturbance" (*Carte*). Even if her education and feelings had not biassed her, Elizabeth's position as a servant of Rome and daughter of Anne Boleyn would have been an

impossible one. Yet she had a keen sense of the ridiculous, and when Strickland, M.P., thought that if obliged to humiliate oneself before the altar it would be better to fall prostrate than to imitate the genuflexions of the Papists, word was sent to him by the Queen not to go into the House again without her permission. Hume points out that under her government the High Commission was as ruthless, though less bloody, than the Inquisition.

*A*4. *Parliament passed an Act.*—All services were to be held in English: the Queen became Supreme Head of the Church and nominator to all bishoprics. She forthwith formed the High Commission Court, to deal with ecclesiastical affairs.

Napoleon as usual refuses to follow his author off the beaten track, even after so fascinating a character as Mary Stuart: the Rizzio tragedy, the Darnley marriage, the birth of James, with Elizabeth for godmother, the death of Darnley and the Bothwell marriage, are fully recorded in Barrow. Mary's act of abdication in favour of her son, done under compulsion (and actual danger), at Lochleven was to find a counterpart at Fontainebleau in 1814; her escape from Lochleven and annulling of her abdication reminds one of the "flight of the eagle" from Elba; Langside was an almost bloodless Waterloo; while her surrender to Lowther at Carlisle had its parallel on board the *Bellerophon*, but Mary had offers of protection from England which Napoleon lacked. Mary's most deadly foe had been her half-brother, the Regent Murray, and the fact that Elizabeth, hearing of his murder, declared with sobs that she had lost her best friend, shows what was the value of the accusations brought by him against their mutual enemy. The fact is that for over a hundred pages the History of England becomes to Barrow the history of Mary Queen of Scots. We have a lengthy account of the Ridolfi plot, the examination of the Bishop of Ross, and the execution of the Duke of Norfolk. When Elizabeth sent away the Spanish embassy, as mixed up in the Ridolfi plot, Philip of Spain retaliated by putting into prison all the English then in Spain—a precedent for Napoleon in 1803. France, *i.e.* Catherine de Medicis, was never genuine in wishing Elizabeth to free Mary. Rapin declares that Catherine thoroughly disliked her daughter-in-law, whom her son Charles IX. had loved from his childhood. His death in 1574 was a serious blow to the cause of Mary.

A 5. *Fourteen bishops*—including Heath, Archbishop of York, Bonner of London, Tunstal of Durham. Bonner had to be kept in the Marshalsea—free to leave it if he would—to save him from the fury of the people. Owing to sickness the previous year only these bishops survived, and the Bishop of Llandaff, who alone supported Elizabeth. Nine bishoprics were vacant on Elizabeth's accession, and three more a few months later. Only one bishop, Watson of Lincoln, was present at her coronation, and he crowned her.

B 1. *The penalties of Præmunire.*—This was for a second offence : for the first refusal to acquiesce in the Queen's spiritual supremacy the delinquent was to forfeit his office ; if he refused a third time it was treason. Henceforward, as Ranke says, "men deemed the Queen's ecclesiastical power the palladium of the realm."

C 1. *The Turkey Company.*—This is one of three events of the year 1579 described by Barrow in one paragraph, the other two being the deaths of Sir Nicholas Bacon, Lord Keeper, and of Thomas Gresham, founder of the Royal Exchange. The treaty was made between William Harbourn, an Englishman, and Mustapha Bey, one of Amurat's pashas, whereby England was to trade as freely in Turkey as Venice or France ; whereupon the English merchants, by the Queen's privilege, associated themselves into a company called the Turkey Company (*Rapin*). It has ever since, says Carte, "carried on a trade for raw silk, cotton, spices, drugs, and other commodities at Constantinople, Smyrna, Aleppo, Egypt, and other parts of the Ottoman Empire."

D 1. *Cardinal Allen.*—This paragraph is entirely Napoleon's verdict. Barrow describes Parry's Conspiracy (1585), and writes that the accused had "read some time ago a book by Cardinal Allen, in which that prelate asserted that not only was one permitted to kill excommunicated princes, but even that such was a glorious action." It is therefore apparent that our student had traced Allen's treatise back to 1581, when he tried to confute Bingley, declaring that "Bloody Mary's persecutions of Protestants were agreeable to law, while punishing the Jesuits was murder." The plots undoubtedly thickened between 1581 and 1585 ; Mary Stuart's patience was exhausted, and the seminary priests, infused with the energy of Allen, their founder, had made

enormous progress in England. Well might Napoleon put the name of Walsingham as a shoulder-note to Allen. It was Walsingham and his favourite officer, the rack-master, who, more even than Lord Effingham's fire-ships and the sou'-wester, saved England,—when, as Ranke says, "the fate of humanity lay in the balance." Hallam notes that "the rack seldom stood idle in the Tower for all the latter part of Elizabeth's reign." There was little to choose between the thirsty bloodhounds of Mary and of Elizabeth, save that the former were probably the best paid.

*D*2. *Walsingham.*—It is typical of Napoleon that he should note Walsingham, not Burleigh. Beyond the art of taking pains there was no spark of genius in the young *protégé* of Protector Somerset. Walsingham, however, was a master-craftsman—the Sherlock Holmes of the sixteenth century, who beggared himself in outwitting the whole Jesuit body, even having paid servants in their colleges so that he might learn in London what was whispered in the ear at Rome. Goldwin Smith calls him "the pilot who weathered the storm, a man supremely able—an austere and puritan Machiavel. He did not scruple to adopt the enemy's weapons, and he was the artificer and operator of the espionage which penetrated and baffled the counsels of the Jesuits and the Guises." He plotted Mary's death as mercilessly, but even more skilfully, than Talleyrand did that of the Duc d'Enghien, but the grief of Napoleon at the catastrophe was at least genuine. Unlike Elizabeth, he had not tortured his victim with pin-pricks for eighteen years. As statecraft the death of Queen Mary was diabolically sagacious, that of the last of the Condés was, as Fouché is reported to have said, worse than a crime—a blunder. It made it impossible for Napoleon to conciliate the old nobility, and this was vital for permanent peace. When a nobility had nothing but its age to recommend it, the Children of the French Revolution at any rate should not have thrown away the substance for the shadow. A wiser generation gratefully warms itself at the glories of Napoleon.[1] Moonlight aureoles of ancestry dwindle and disappear before a Sun, whose last peer blazed out twenty centuries ago in the father of the Cæsars. Unlike Alexander, Hannibal, William the Conqueror, and Frederick the Great, these two alone, Julius Cæsar and

[1] Lord Rosebery.

Napoleon, were by themselves and in themselves pre-eminently their own ancestors.

D3. This dictum.—We have seen how tenacious Napoleon's memory was respecting the Reformation; doubtless this Jesuit maxim helped to confirm his lifelong hostility to this body. It is typical that at St. Helena, in conversation with O'Meara, Freemasons,[1] Jesuits, and the Jews should form the heads of one conversation as they have in turn formed apparently the cap-of-darkness-crowned heads of national upheavals. The synoptic record of Montholon is so different that it seems desirable to give the versions side by side. (Neither Las Cases nor Gourgaud alludes to it.)

O'MEARA.

"Napoleon in Exile."

Vol. i. pp. 182–88.

"During the conversation, I took the liberty of asking the Emperor his reasons for having encouraged the Jews so much. He replied, 'I wanted to make them leave off usury, and become like other men. There were a great many Jews in the countries I reigned over; by removing their disabilities, and by putting them upon an equality with Catholics, Protestants, and others, I hoped to make them become good citizens, and conduct themselves like the rest of the community. I believe that I should have succeeded in the end. My reasoning with them was, that as their rabbins explained to them that they ought not to practise usury against their own tribes, but were allowed to practise it with Christians and others, that, therefore, as I had restored them to all their privileges, and made

MONTHOLON.

"Captivity of Napoleon."

Vol. ii. pp. 388–90.

"But there is a religious society, the tendency of which is highly dangerous, and which should never have been admitted into the territories of the Empire—viz. the Society of Jesus. Its doctrines are subversive of all monarchical principles. The General of the Jesuits desires to be sovereign master, the sovereign of sovereigns. Everywhere that the Jesuits are tolerated, they strive for power, at any price. Their society is by nature fond of ruling, and nourishes therefore an irreconcilable hatred of all existing power. Any action, any crime, however atrocious it may be, is meritorious, if committed for the interest of the society, or by the orders of its general. The Jesuits are all men of talent and learning. They are the best existing missionaries, and would be,

[1] In 1846, by the way, the young Las Cases, who as a boy had wanted to fight a duel with Hudson Lowe, at St. Helena, became Deputy Grand Master of French Freemasonry in 1842, and was succeeded in 1847 by Bertrand, also a son of a St. Helena exile.

them equal to my other subjects, they must consider me, like Solomon or Herod, to be the head of their nation, and my subjects as brethren of a tribe similar to theirs. That, consequently, they were not permitted to deal usuriously with them or me, but to treat us as if we were of the tribe of Judah. That enjoying similar privileges to my other subjects, they were, in like manner, to pay taxes, and submit to the laws of conscription, and to other laws. By this I gained many soldiers.[1] Besides, I should have drawn great wealth to France, as the Jews are very numerous,[2] and would have flocked to a country where they enjoyed such superior privileges. Moreover, I wanted to establish an universal liberty of conscience.' . . .

"I asked some questions relative to the freemasons, and his opinions concerning them. 'A set of imbeciles who meet, *à faire bonne chère*, and perform some ridiculous fooleries. However,' said he, 'they do some good actions. They assisted in the revolution, and latterly to diminish the power of the Pope and the influence of the clergy. When the sentiments of a people are against the government, every society has a tendency to do mischief to it.' I then asked if the freemasons on the Continent had any connection with the illuminati. He replied, 'No, that is a society altogether different, and in Germany is of a very dangerous nature.' I asked if he had not encouraged the freemasons? He said, 'Rather so, for they fought against the Pope.' I were it not for their ambition of ruling, the best instructing body, for the propagation of civilisation and the development of its progress. They may be of service in Russia for some years longer, because the first need of that empire is civilisation.

Another religious interest had attracted the attention of the Emperor, because it might have been brought to have an influence on the increase of national riches. Millions of Jews were scattered over the earth—their riches were incalculable; France might hope to attract them to her dominions by giving them equal rights in the empire with the Catholics and Protestants, and by rendering them good citizens; the reasoning on this subject was simple. Their rabbins taught them that they should not practise usury in transactions with their own people, and that it was only permitted to exercise it towards the Christians; the moment they were placed on an equality of rights with the other subjects of the Emperor, they would regard him as they would have done Solomon or Herod, as the chief of their nation, and consider the rest of his subjects as brethren, of tribes similar to theirs; they would enjoy all the rights of the country, and would think it but just that they should share the charge of paying the imposts, and submit to conscription. The Emperor realised his projects on this point.

The French army gained many good soldiers, great riches poured into France, and much more would

[1] *E.g.* Masséna.
[2] He computes them in Gourgaud at two millions.

then asked if he ever would have permitted the re-establishment of the Jesuits in France? 'Never,' said he, 'it is the most dangerous of societies, and has done more mischief than all the others. Their doctrine is, that their general is the sovereign of sovereigns, and master of the world; that all orders from him, however contrary to the laws, or however wicked, must be obeyed. Every act, however atrocious, committed by them pursuant to orders from their general at Rome, becomes in their eyes meritorious. No, no, I would never have allowed a society to exist in my dominions, under the order of a foreign general at Rome. In fact, I would not allow any *frati*. There were priests sufficient for those who wanted them, without having monasteries filled with *canaglie*, who did nothing but gormandise, pray, and commit crimes.' I observed, that it was to be feared the priests and the Jesuits would soon have great influence in France. Napoleon replied, 'Very likely. The Bourbons are fanatics, and would willingly bring back both the Jesuits and the Inquisition. In reigns before mine, the Protestants were as badly treated as the Jews; they could not purchase land—I put them upon a level with the Catholics. They will now be trampled upon by the Bourbons, to whom they and everything else will always be objects of suspicion. The Emperor Alexander may allow them to enter his empire, because it is his policy to draw into his barbarous country men of information, whatsoever their sect may be, and moreover, they are not to be much feared in Russia, because the religion is different.'"

have been brought to it, had it not been for the events of 1814, because the Jews would all have successively come and established themselves in a country where equality of rights was secured to them, and where the door to honours was open to their ambition. The Emperor wished to tolerate all religions; he wished every one to think and believe in his own way, and that all his subjects—Protestants, Catholics, Mahometans, and even deists — should enjoy equal privileges, so that a man's religion might in no way influence his public fortune.

D4. All the conspiracies.—Those of the Jesuits, Campion and Parsons, both ex-Fellows of Oxford, are the types oftenest cited, but altogether some two hundred priests were executed. The great common factor of all these death penalties, from Cuthbert Maynes to Mary Stuart, is to be found in Campion's answer to his judges, "Our religion only is our crime." But when the autocracy of Philip and the Papacy became blended with the absolutism of the Society of Jesus, and this hell-broth "tempered with assassination," cold steel was the charm of England's Fairy Queen wherewith she out-witched the three wizards.

E1. Mary Stuart.—After the discovery of the more than half-fabricated Babington Plot, the English Council (in spite of the anti-Catholic Act of the previous year) were at their wits' end how lawfully to make away with Mary—"the seed-plot of conspiracy"; just as with Napoleon at St. Helena death was to be compassed by more or less natural causes with as little delay as possible. As Barrow puts it, "Some members would hear of no other means of taking away her life than by keeping her closely confined, which could not fail to ruin her health, which was already very much broken down, and which would prevent every imputation of violence and inhumanity; others insisted that she should be duly put on her trial forthwith; but the Earl of Leicester was of opinion that poison should be used." Sir Amyas Paulet refused, whereupon Elizabeth dubbed him "a dainty precise fellow." The last method found most support, but the first, though thought too slow by the Council, must have been equally efficacious. To a woman, or to an emperor, inured to horse exercise and to whom a seventy mile ride, either to see a lover at Hermitage Castle or to escape a Spanish bullet on the sombre Sierras, was all in the day's work, close confinement meant disease and death. It was Sir Christopher Hatton who beguiled Mary Stuart into defending herself. This man had been made Chancellor by Elizabeth because he was a good dancer; Napoleon wished to give the cordon of the Legion of Honour to his old friend Talma for the like accomplishment, but the soldiers of the Revolution were less complacent than the courtiers of the Reformation.

E2. The heiress of England.—This was what Elizabeth could

never forget or forgive. "The misfortune of Mary's life was her claim to the English throne" (*Ranke*). When James sent to beg that his mother's life might be spared, the ambassador, Patrick Gray, hinted secretly that the sentence had best be executed, as "a dead woman bites not." The French king's messenger, Bellièvre, gave a similar secret message.

E3. Her head on the scaffold.—The story of her examination and execution is very fully told by Barrow. One ghastly episode not often mentioned is that although her maids offered three times the value of her clothes to be allowed to perform the last offices to her body, they were not allowed to do so; that she was shamefully stripped by the executioners, and her body covered over with an old brown cloth, formerly used for a billiard table. The cold clear statement of facts by Napoleon is the stranger in a young man with only Barrow's panegyric to guide him. (Rapin's account is much more judicial as, whilst using Camden largely, he discounts his predilections.) Barrow gives her every virtue, including piety and discretion. The fiery lover of Josephine of a few years later might well have been book-smitten by Mary Stuart.

E4. The Christian religion (sic).—Whilst already free from most priestly influence, Napoleon was still a loyal Catholic, to whom Protestantism and Anglicanism were alike unchristian. After all it was the Roman pontiff and not his religion to which Elizabeth objected. To her the Puritans were worse than the priests. To her last days she had a crucifix and burning tapers in her chapel, and the "fair vestal throned in the west" thought it only fitting that she herself should offer up prayers to the Virgin.

E5. This was the chief reason for her death.[1]—"Religion was the capital point on which depended all the political transactions of that age" (*Hume*). It had even played a part in the Darnley murder—Bothwell being a Protestant. In 1568 Alva was paramount in the Netherlands, the French Huguenots defeated and depressed. Elizabeth, whose life and sovereignty depended on the survival of Protestantism, dared not help her fugitive sister and heiress at such a juncture, even had she wished.

F1. Philip.—The patience of this long-suffering Colossus of

[1] Not in Barrow, where jealousy is given as the motive.

two worlds was at last worn out. The forays of the Freebooters were venomous fleabites; the knighting of Drake a premeditated insult. Mendoza told the Queen that "matters would come to the cannon," whereupon Elizabeth in mildest accents opined that another such threat would leave him in a dungeon. Napoleon's tirades in his dealings with hostile ambassadors in general and with Lord Wentworth in particular become patterns of diplomatic propriety by the side of the treatment accorded by Elizabeth to the ambassadors of the proudest monarch and Empire that the world has ever seen. Portugal's navy had doubled his own, Mary Stuart's death had left him, as the descendant of John of Gaunt, an heir of England, what need was there of further delay? With Parma's conquest of Antwerp the world's commerce was gravitating to England, and this unexpected development must at all costs be checked.

F2. The Fleet.—There were on board nineteen thousand two hundred and nine-five soldiers, eight thousand four hundred and fifty mariners, two thousand and eighty-eight slaves, two thousand six hundred and thirty pieces of cannon, and provisions for six months. The Duke of Parma had thirty thousand men ready to embark in the Netherlands, and the Duke of Guise twelve thousand men in Normandy. Elizabeth's army was eighty thousand men, of which thirty-five thousand were united and ready to strike. The Earl of Leicester was in command of a small detachment. He died two months later, but although she wept bitterly she ordered all his effects to be sold by public auction to help to defray the sums she had lent to him. He was born the same day and hour as herself. As the son of the Duke of Northumberland, who had executed Somerset, he bore Burleigh no good-will.

F3. An English invasion.—Philip seemed to have all probabilities in his favour. England had only a regular navy of forty ships, and a trained army of six thousand. Like Napoleon in 1804 Philip had a grand old admiral to take charge of the expedition and inspire enthusiasm in the Fleet. But Santa Cruz, like Gantheaume, died of disease, and Medina Sidonia (without even a pretence at seacraft) had the mild and melancholy disposition of Villeneuve. Both wanted, if for one day only, the command of the Channel; Parma and Guise were to land at

Margate; the "Don Quixote de la Manche" would himself have landed his army at Deal or Dover.

F4. A hundred and fifty vessels.—Barrow says a hundred and thirty. Only fifty got back to Spain, but it was the elements and not the English who took most of the ships. The running fight that lasted for a week from July 19th, and which left the Armada ready to surrender in Bridlington Bay (if the English had enough ammunition left to demand it) cost them but fifteen ships. We had more than our usual share of luck in the defeat of the Armada. There was the death of Santa Cruz, and the appointment of such a self-condemned incompetent as Medina Sidonia; there was the happy hazard of Howard returning from his reconnaissance Spainwards in time to find the enemy off Cornwall; there was the success that followed the venture of the fire-ships, and the bad luck that enabled the Dutch to bottle up the flat-bottomed boats of Parma in Dunkirk and Nieuport. "The wind that fights for England—the south-west wind" finished the business. The two medals struck in the Queen's honour—the one referring to her appearance at Tilbury and marked "Venit, Vidit, Vincit," and the other representing a fleet in disorder marked "Dux fœmina facta"—are equally misleading. The victory was due to the gentlemen of England, small and great (not excluding the Catholics), whose funds built and manned the fleet, leaving only ammunition to be found by the Government and the Queen, who conspicuously failed in this their primary duty.

F5. Two thousand five hundred men.—This seems exaggerated. Rapin, quoting Strype, gives the Spanish loss at thirty-two ships and ten thousand one hundred and eighty-five men. Carte, who does not give his source, says eighty-one vessels were lost out of a hundred and thirty-four.

G1. The Earl of Essex.—He was Leicester's stepson; his wife was the widow of Sir Philip Sidney. He had fought under Henry of Navarre, but this was his best life's work, and he was badly rewarded by seeing the posts he coveted for himself and Sir Thomas Bodley given to others in his absence. Sir Walter Raleigh, who was under Howard, was sent to burn merchant ships, and though they offered him two million ducats ransom, he obeyed orders. Just two centuries later the Duke

of Modena tried to save a picture from Paris with a bribe of two million livres, but the young Corsican conqueror also did his duty.

In their depredations on the Spanish coast the English helped themselves freely to neutral vessels, ships and cargo, and owing to the complaints of the Hanseatic League the Emperor of Germany prohibited the English merchants (called the Adventurers) from trading with Germany—a sixteenth-century Berlin decree—while the king of Poland, Sigismund, sent an ambassador to complain. He made a long tirade in Latin, which Elizabeth answered on the spot in the same language and with equal fire. She declared that in place of an ambassador she had found a herald ; that if authorised to speak so his master must be a young man as well as a young king, that "by the law of nations every prince engaged in war had a right to intercept the forces and succours sent to his adversary, to prevent any mischievous consequences to himself: that the practice of all nations was agreeable to this maxim, and the Kings of Sweden and Poland had, in their wars with Muscovy, exercised this right upon English merchants." Then, turning to her own courtiers, she added, "God's death, my lords ! I have been forced this day to scour up my old Latin, that hath long lain rusting." In view of the recent divergence of opinion as to what constitutes contraband, this speech and the arguments of the English merchants are worth recording. The latter were that the Hanse ships in Portugal were freighted with provisions for the Spaniards, and *by the law of nations the English could seize provisions en route to their enemies, and even confiscate the ships.* Carte declares that nothing but ammunition was confiscated.

*G*2. *Five hundred thousand ducats ransom.*—Stow says six hundred and twenty thousand. The English raids of 1596 were said to have cost the king of Spain twenty million ducats.

*H*1. *The Earl of Essex.*—He was only thirty-four, and Elizabeth sixty-eight. Burleigh's son, Robert Cecil, had compassed his ruin. As with poor Mary of Scotland, the executioner bungled badly, and his head was only cut off at the third blow. In one respect Essex had been the Queen's prime favourite—she had forgiven him debts. His family—the noble house of Devereux—originally came from Evreux in Normandy, where the divorced Josephine was finally to be sent. Essex had married

the daughter of Walsingham, the widow of Sir Philip Sidney. This great family was also of French extraction, and their name in the days of the Plantagenets is St. Denis.

11. *Death of the Queen.*—In spite of her avarice and jealousy, her pride and occasional cruelty, England had never been so happy as under her long reign of forty-four years. Never did a monarch manage minister better, and if she did not make her marshals out of mud, she certainly knew the draught of water in which every human unit in her Court could swim or drown. Up to a few months before her death she had hunted in the roughest weather, and had danced *la galliarde* with the Duc de Nevers. She had even harangued the newly-arrived Venetian ambassador in Italian—a language she had not spoken for over fifty years.[1] "Praise," says Carte, "was the crown with which she generally rewarded bravery, merit, and services." She sometimes helped herself to another's guerdon,[2] and when Drake was on his last voyage she seized fifteen thousand pounds which he had left in the custody of the Lord Mayor of London. Hawkins began the slave trade, and Elizabeth participated in the profits. The Queen always insisted on a tithe of the spoil of her freebooters,

[1] So she said, but as usual her memory was convenient in its lapses. Some quarter of a century earlier she had tried to impress the Scottish ambassador, Melville, with her German and Italian, and he reported that she spoke the latter "reasonably well," but the former "not so well."

[2] It is the fashion nowadays to call Napoleon ungentlemanly because, by means of his police, facts connected with private affairs came under his knowledge which, when he deemed necessary, he put to rights himself. When a wife was misbehaving herself Napoleon was apt to let all the world know about it, but at least he did not, like Elizabeth, put his bishops into prison for marrying at all. On the contrary, Napoleon made a bishop (Talleyrand) marry against his will. It is usual to associate Merry England especially with the age of Elizabeth, and yet at no period in English or French history were private affairs so arbitrarily interfered with. Every one knows Elizabeth's "Proud Prelate" letter, in which she swore to unfrock the Bishop of Ely if he questioned Hatton's right to build his house in Holborn on the bishop's garden. The letter is a forgery, but on the whole her treatment of the bishop was as bad or worse than if it were not. But nothing in the history of Napoleon's multifarious censures or benefactions, based on the disclosures of his Postmaster-General, can vie with Burleigh's gratuitous interference with things that were purely personal. Busybody as he was, Burleigh's watchward "Prevention" saved England and Elizabeth many times. Perhaps the only grateful trait in Elizabeth's cruel character was her affection for her Lord Treasurer, especially during his last illness. Its counterpart can be found in Henry's love of Cranmer, though in the latter case it was the subject who assuaged his monarch's last hours.

but when the spoil was great her appetite rose like that of the lion in the fable. When Frobisher and Raleigh in 1592 took a rich carrack, worth two hundred thousand pounds, Raleigh humbly offered her eighty thousand as her share—the greatest sum that a subject has ever tendered to his ruler. Napoleon's thrift, which he inherited from his mother, could as little bear extravagance as extortions, but when he forced Talleyrand, Masséna, or Bourrienne to disgorge ill-gotten gains he was simply performing a necessary duty; the same plea could hardly be made for Elizabeth when she kept the See of Ely vacant for nineteen years in order to pocket the revenue. She paid her foot-soldiers eightpence per day (*i.e.* the pay in those days of an ordinary labourer); her Spanish War, from 1589 to 1593, cost her a million and a quarter sterling, and the Irish War much more; yet when she died more than this was owing to her. The East India Company, founded in 1600, had an original capital of seventy-two thousand pounds. The population of England was then about two millions. The Usury Act of 1571 made ten per cent. the maximum interest; Henry IV. later was able to make it six and a half per cent. in France, while under the Empire Napoleon hoped that not more than four per cent. should ever be charged against good security. Prior to 1580, when coaches came into vogue, the Queen used to ride in public processions behind her chamberlain. Owing to gold imports from the New World all prices rose nearly a hundred per cent., but more so in France than in England. Of Elizabeth's personal vanities only one concerns us, one she had in common with Napoleon—the beautiful small white hands which were always on view on state occasions. Green points out that the key to Elizabeth's tortuous diplomacy—diplomacy which "hoodwinked and outwitted every statesman in Europe during fifty years"—was the gaining of time. It is the key to Napoleon's equally bewildering statecraft; with his hand against the world, his, as Lord Rosebery points out, was a breathless life. "Ask of me anything but time," his plea to his marshals in war-time, has a pathos all its own now that the search-lights of scientific history are beginning to illuminate the dark places of that organised hypocrisy -Europe in coalition to re-establish the Bourbons. The Catholics, degraded and robbed, rallied to Elizabeth in her danger: the Royalists in France,

petted and caressed, stung to death their benefactor when at last he needed their loyalty.

Ranke, whose bird's-eye view of this reign is unequalled, gives the last of the Tudors the unique praise, "There never was a sovereign who maintained a conflict of world-wide importance amidst greater dangers and with greater success than Queen Elizabeth. Her memory is inseparably connected with the independence and power of England." To Elizabeth, as to Edward III., Napoleon has barely given adequate attention.

NOTES TO JAMES I

"Oh (cried the goddess) for some pedant reign!
Some gentle James to bless the land again;
To stick the doctor's chair into the throne,
Give law to words, or war with words alone,
Senates and courts with Greek and Latin rule,
And turn the council to a grammar-school!"
—Pope, "Dunciad," Book IV. 175.

*A*1. *House of Stuart.*—This is Barrow's spelling, and of course less accurate than Stewart. Carte gives a full note showing how James had a continued male line of kings from Banquo, whose grandson had been made Lord High Steward of Scotland by the slayer of Macbeth. From his great-grandmother's side James got his rights to England and Wales, and "in him concentred all the lineal rights which the British, Saxon, Norman, Pictish, and Scottish kings ever had to any part of Great Britain." Hallam, on the other hand, asserts that neither the House of Stuart nor later that of Brunswick had a strictly legal title to the throne.

*A*2. 1603.—That year is, on many accounts, one of the most important epochs in our history. It was then that both Scotland and Ireland became part of the same empire with England (*Macaulay*). Within the hundred years France, Spain, and the United Kingdom had each risen to the full height of their natural geographical boundaries.

*A*3. *Reigned in Scotland—i.e.* since July 29, 1567. James, soon after his accession, had the assurance to tell Sully that Elizabeth had proved incompetent, and that he (James) had only ruled England through her ministers.

*A*4. *The Privy Council*—in conjunction with the House of Lords. They sent him six thousand pounds for his expenses by the way. The very night of Elizabeth's death the people rang

the bells and made bonfires in honour of her successor. Ranke will not admit London's joy at James's accession. They neither mourned their loss nor rejoiced at their gain. The whole future was too complicated. Whom would James favour? More than a quarter of London's population (forty thousand) were Catholics, and only held in awe by her trained bands. The children of James had Catholic tutors, his Protestant wife had accepted relics from Rome.

*A*5. *A robber*—strictly speaking, a pickpocket. He suffered at Newark. Carte shows that James followed precedent in this execution.

*A*6. *Money.*—James was always lavish to his friends, but more cogent reasons accounted for his habitual impecuniosity. Our new colonies in the West had brought such large quantities of bullion from the newly-found mines that an immediate and unprecedented rise of prices followed, which was a source of ever-increasing poverty to men with incomes fixed by precedent, of whom the king was chief. Now that peace reigns in South Africa its ever-increasing export of gold is having a similar effect on prices for the world in general and for England in particular.

*A*7. *Knighthood.*—Bacon was of the number. He had been very anxious for the honour, but had not bargained for such wholesale dispensations, whereby, like Montaigne's long-coveted Collar of Saint Michel, it "had become the collar of every dog." When his queen arrived from Scotland James made a further batch of two hundred and thirty, and at Cecil's suggestion (and as a source of revenue) he now accorded it to all other private individuals who had forty pounds a year fixed revenue. James's atrocious treatment of the Puritans, with regard to the Millenary Petition and to the Hampton Court Conference, is ignored by Napoleon.

*A*8. *Two hundred thousand inhabitants.*—Some thirty thousand died this year of the plague. Hume gives the population before the Plague at only a hundred and fifty thousand. Some two hundred citizens at this time did the entire merchant business of London, which aggregated eighty-five per cent. of that of the whole kingdom. It has taken some three hundred years for the wheel once more to come full circle, but the recent amalgamation

and segregation of banks in London has once more put a similar proportion of our trade into the hands of some two hundred citizens, and the volume of that trade, taking customs receipts as a criterion, is now at least three hundred per cent. more.

*B*1. *The Papists.*—The idea of these "gentlemen, hunger-starved for innovation," as Camden calls them, was to make the Princess Elizabeth queen, and to accuse the Puritans of the crime. Barrow, who gives a full story of the Gunpowder Plot, waxes eloquent as to the heinousness of it, but Napoleon contents himself as usual with a bald narration of facts.

*B*2. *To blow up—i.e.* with nine thousand pounds of gunpowder. It was now remembered that a like doom had been planned for Darnley, the king's father, while it was also discovered that a similar fate had been designed for Elizabeth and her lords. The latter, like the present scheme, had won the consent of Garnet, the Jesuit Superior in England. James, who inherited from his mother a French leaning towards lofty comparisons, compares the smiling Fawkes to Mutius Scævola.

*C*1. *Bancroft*—had been chosen by James to succeed Whitgift because of his hostility to the Puritans. He died in 1610, and was succeeded by George Abbott, who favoured the Puritans.

*C*2. *The Puritans.*—The storm had given its first rumblings at the conference at Hampton Court (1604), where they were defined as "Protestants frightened out of their wits." They had four great grievances:—

(1) That the average parish priest was neither a good man nor a wise one.

(2) That the Prayer Book needed revision.

(3) That the High Commission Court encouraged interference by laymen in Church matters.

(4) That the cross in baptism, the ring in marriage, and the wearing of the surplice were vain superstitions.

James took strongly the side of the eighteen bishops in browbeating the four representatives of the Puritans. It was a sad thing for the Puritans that this year the gentle Archbishop Whitgift died and was succeeded by the blustering Bancroft. The Jesuits were ordered to quit the country as being conspirators for papal supremacy, but the king loved the old religion *per se*, and undisguisedly hated the Progressive extremists of the new one.

He did not want an English Knox[1] "deaving him with his clavers," any more than the Scotch Puritans wanted "Clavers deaving them with knocks" seventy-five years later. The long and foolish speech James made at the opening of Parliament still further alienated the Commons, where the Puritans were in a majority.

*D*1. *Cowell*—was not a clergyman, as both Rapin and Barrow declare. He was Doctor and Professor of Common Law at Cambridge, and vicar-general to Archbishop Bancroft. Besides the one given, there were two extra clauses, one that the king need only call a Parliament when it suited his Absolute Highness to do so, and another that Parliament ought to be grateful to the king for the honour he allowed them of presenting him with subsidies. Cowell was compelled to quote part of his book ("The Interpreter, or Law Dictionary") to refute the other.

*D*2. *Dr. Blackwood*—was a clergyman. James hated the Netherlands, as tending to republicanism, and feared Puritanism as a step in the same direction. Although he had countenanced the printing of these books, he was obliged to order their suppression to satisfy popular clamour.

*E*1. 1610.—In this year Henry IV. of France was assassinated in his coach by the friar Ravaillac, and the fact is duly reported by Barrow and attributed to Jesuit influence on a fanatic to whom "Henry IV. was only a heretic." Following his usual custom Napoleon makes no allusion to a matter which is after all not English history. At St. Helena, Henry IV. and Louis XIV. are the French kings who chiefly attract his notice. It is difficult to reconcile his views of his great predecessors; and as his evangelists are often wilfully uninspired, it is even more difficult to know what he actually said. On the whole he thought Henry IV. overrated: "A fairly good monarch, but he did nothing extraordinary. I am quite certain that in his own time he had not the reputation he has to-day." He always called Henry *un bon militaire*, but added that pluck and common-sense were the sole assets needed for successful war in those days, but that with large masses it is different. "One must say this of

[1] An old lady of a hundred and three gave these two events (*i.e.* the words of Knox and the deeds of Dundee), the first and last of her memories, as two of the most remarkable in her long life ("Scott's Journal").

the French kings—they were always brave." In another place he qualifies this: "Saint Louis was an idiot; that dotard Henry IV. running after the women of the streets was a fool; Louis XIV. was the only king of France worthy the name, but though a great king, he was not, like Francis I. and Henry IV., *un militaire*."

E2. An infatuation for hunting.—He spent only two months a year in London or at Greenwich. He considered every other day due to the chase in order to preserve his health, which he considered the health of the country. He was up before daylight, and was thoroughly skilful at his craft. When his horse was too frisky he was wont to say, "Sirrah, if you be not quiet, I'll send you to the five hundred kings in the lower House: they'll quickly tame you."

E3. The art of governing.—Barrow has trade, *mètier*. As Robert Cecil had failed to extract the necessary subsidy from the Commons, the King himself made them a speech in which the divinity of the kingly office was insisted on. He told them as King of Scotland he had been at the trade for over thirty years, and had served a seven years' apprenticeship in England. Therefore he thought himself the best judge of a king's duties, and that there was no need in England of a Phormion to teach Hannibal. For a man who could not look on a sword without trembling to compare himself to the warrior whom Napoleon considered the greatest of all time, was the high-water mark even of this king's impudence. A favourite saying of his was, "I will govern according to the good of the common-weal, but not according to the common-will!"

F1. A young page.—Robert Carr, the young Scotsman of twenty whose leg was broken in falling off his horse at a tournament. James himself taught him the rudiments of Latin. Barrow says that on a later occasion he gave Carr, now Viscount Rochester, an order on Robert Cecil for five thousand pounds, and the Lord High Treasurer, to show the king the value of money, took James, as it were by chance, through a room where the money was all counted out. James, astonished at the sight, said the sum was too much for any private individual, and told Cecil only to give Carr two thousand. Rapin tells this story the same way, which proves the plagiarism of Barrow. Tindall

points out that the figures were twenty thousand and five thousand pounds respectively. James compelled Raleigh to accept £12,000 for his estate at Sherborne, which was worth £5000 a year, and which he gave to Carr.

G1. Barrow.—The printed edition of the MS. says Chester.

G2. Lord Sanquir—or Sanquhir. Even the Archbishop of Canterbury failed to secure a reprieve for this unfortunate scapegoat. James realised that his partiality to Scotsmen was doing him harm and sacrificed his helpless countryman, Robert Creighton, Lord of Sanquir, as a bid for the popularity he had long since lost.

G3. A fencing-master.—Turner by name. Challenged to fight by Sanquir, he put out his eye. The Scotch nobleman was asked by the French king how he got his affliction, and answered that it was done with a sword. "Does the man live?" was the significant comment. Sanquir brooded over this, and finally employed two of his serving-men to pistol Turner in his house.

H1. Henry, Prince of Wales.—He was not yet nineteen, and gave great promise of being equal to Henry I. as a man of letters, to Henry II. or VII. as a statesman, to Henry IV., V., and VIII. as a successful warrior. From a son of James we should have expected the pusillanimity of Henry III. or the impotence without the lovableness of Henry VI. His father was very jealous of his popularity, and Barrow hints broadly that poison, and not an epidemic fever, was the cause of death. He was for a time love-netted to the Countess of Essex, and some say her potions shortened his life. He had been his mother's favourite son; she thought him like Henry V. in youthful beauty, and encouraged him in every warlike sport.

H2. His father did not wish that mourning should be worn.—James had given great umbrage on his accession by hinting that mourning need not be observed for Elizabeth. Nevertheless the Prince's funeral expenses were sixteen thousand pounds, while those of the great queen, which made James plead poverty to his Parliament, were but seventeen thousand.

I1. 1613.—The marriage of James's daughter, "bright and brave," to Ferdinand, Elector Palatine, though so important to English history in 1714, had no significance for a history ending in 1688, and the fact, belonging properly to continental history,

is as usual ignored by Napoleon. Ferdinand being a Calvinist, the match was very popular with the Puritan party in England, who later would have gladly seen the Elector raised to the English throne. Meanwhile, as the stronger party in Parliament, they continued to "render the king contemptible by making him necessitous" (*Carte*).

12. Cecil, Earl of Salisbury.—"One of the greatest politicians of his age, one who knew to perfection the genius of his country and its affairs" (*Barrow*). He, if any one, knew the inner history of the Shakespere plays. Deformed, the wiliest diplomatist of a wily age, a successful operator in foreign bonds, he was safe for his religion, the Talleyrand of the English court of King James.

11. The Countess of Essex—was Frances, daughter of Thomas Howard, Earl of Suffolk, who had succeeded Cecil as Lord Treasurer, and niece of Henry Howard, the newly-made Earl of Northampton. She was perhaps the most beautiful woman of her time in those pre-Ruskin days whose beauty and badness was a common combination. In 1606 she had married a fifteen-year-old husband at thirteen, but the consummation of the marriage had been postponed till her young man had seen the world. During his four years' absence she became the leading beauty in England. On his return she evinced a dislike to him, which increased after he had suffered a severe attack of small-pox. During this illness she met the new favourite, Rochester, and fell in love with him. The support of Thomas and Henry Howard to the Scotch adventurer added zest to his reciprocity. The three men became the triumvirate of Great Britain. When the husband again appeared on the scene she gave him drugs (obtained from a physician's widow and a quack doctor) to enable her to plead his unsuitability as a husband. These schemes appear to have failed, but she soon managed to make Rochester return her love. Compared to Prince Henry he was, says Ranke quaintly, "a secondary satisfaction of her ambition, but yet a satisfaction she could not forego." Rochester's best friend and mentor, Sir Thomas Overbury, warned him against marrying the Countess of Essex, whereupon she made her lover get the offer of Russian Ambassador for Sir Thomas and at the same time to persuade the latter not to accept it. Then James,

at his favourite's instigation, sent Overbury to the Tower, where the Countess and Rochester got him slowly poisoned.[1] A council of matrons declared a veiled figure (the supposititious countess) to be still a maiden, and the marriage between Rochester (now Earl of Somerset) and the Countess of Essex solemnised in the most gorgeous manner—"The Tempest" being written as a masque in its honour. People pointed out that this divorce and marriage exactly corresponded with a similar event in the life of the Earl of Atholl, one of the king's earlier favourites, and blamed the latter for the whole transaction.

J2. Her husband.—Carte, as champion of the Jacobites, gives a totally different version to Rapin. He makes the husband's incapacity completely proved by their three years' wedlock. (Conjugal bickerings of a similar nature were, according to Bourrienne, not absent from Malmaison during the Consulate.) He has no belief in the veiled maiden substitute, he makes Rochester's falling in love subsequent to the divorce, he considers Sir Thomas Overbury an unbearable meddler, and makes the embassy offered him to be France or the Low Countries. Carte also declares that Overbury maligned the Countess because she belonged to the House of Howard (lately restored to its pristine glory in recognition of devotion to Mary Queen of Scots) which he hated, but he admits that the infuriated lady thereupon vowed Overbury's death. Hume confirms Rapin, and considers that Somerset's illicit relations with the Countess prior to her young husband's claiming possession was the cause of all the future trouble and tragedy.

K1. This year's Parliament—i.e. the Addled Parliament, so called because it never received enough encouragement to enable it to hear its own voice.

K2. The abuses.—James was so prodigal of gifts to those "court caterpillars," his favourites, as always to be at his wits' end for money. The creation of baronetcies was a successful double-barrelled shot for revenue. The recipient paid for his title, which held him bound to pay for so many soldiers in Ireland, but by a ready-money transaction on the spot this obligation was commutable. Earldoms, viscountdoms, and baronies were equally

[1] His broth and every bit of meat, even his salt, was largely mixed with white mercury; but stronger means had to be used to kill him.

on sale. In those days it was the king's purse and not the campaign funds of a political party that, like a twentieth-century inebriate home, was panting for the "gold cure."

*K*3. *Ridiculous.*—"His strutting pomposity was rendered strangely ludicrous by a personal appearance the several defects of which were heightened by their contrast with each other—his fussy self-importance made it almost inevitable that he should mortally offend the political temperament then in England so peculiarly sensitive" (*Encyclopædia Britannica*). He was at best, as his contemporary Henry IV. said, only "the wisest fool in Christendom." Bismarck's maxim was that the people must be led without knowing it, but acting on such a course, largely that of his predecessor, would have eclipsed the sun of self-importance in which James loved to bask. "The policy of wise rulers," says Macaulay, "has always been to disguise strong acts under popular forms." James always ended by shivering on the brink of action, and letting his friends sacrifice themselves instead. Disgust at his methods and contempt for his cowardice made the name of king a by-word for incompetency.

*K*4. *Parliament henceforward regained its ascendency.*—Napoleon, considering his materials, gives here a most luminous exposition of the swing-swang of political power. There were four main episodes which ended by degrading the absolute monarchy of the Tudors. These were (1) James's treatment of the Puritans (in 1604) against the advice of Lord Bacon; (2) the partly consequent refusal of the Commons in 1607 to support Bacon's scheme of Free Trade and Commercial Communion between England and Scotland; (3) the Spanish alliance which was intended to intimidate Parliament; and (4) the punishment of Bacon by the House of Lords, which finally vindicated the "right of Parliament to punish officials who had enjoyed the favour of the crown." Henceforward, Gardiner continues, "The crown could never again be regarded as the sum of the governmental system."

*L*1. *The English Laws.*—Bacon had inspired the king's view and supplanted his old enemy Coke thereby. The latter cherished every line of the old English law—as Montaigne said of Paris, he loved "even its spots and blemishes." Bacon desired one Universal Code for the United Kingdom, with all contradictions

harmonised, and the king's prerogative the final arbitrament, even over the sentences of his judges.

L2. The English jurists—*i.e.* those responsible for the common or Statute Law as opposed to the Civil Law.

M1. The Earl of Somerset.—The queen and her party determined on his ruin. Young Villiers, a younger and handsomer man, was brought to James's notice, and the older man was doomed. The Overbury murder was proved against him and his wife. They received a reprieve on the scaffold, and eked out a miserable existence dependent on doles from the king, with mutual recriminations for their sole dissipation. Somerset survived his wife long enough to see his daughter married to the Duke of Bedford. Their son, Lord Russell, "the English Brutus," was beheaded in the reign of Charles II.

N1. Sir Walter Raleigh.—His chequered voyage is well known. Ere it left the Thames the expedition had been doomed to failure through his own king's treachery. By recalling all letters of marque in almost the first year of his reign, James showed his desire at any cost to become the friend of Spain. As the last of the great Elizabethan "sea-dogs," Raleigh has gained a reputation probably beyond his merits. He tried to escape on his home-voyage, and shammed madness to evade his sentence, but all to no purpose. Though sixty-six years of age, and his supposed crime fourteen years old, Spain insisted upon his execution, and on the scaffold he died a man.

The Venezuela Mines that he failed to find almost caused war between America and England some ten years ago, and even in the Victorian era they were six weeks' journey from the coast.

N2. Great traveller.—The rumour that the Incas, after the conquest of Peru, had trekked across the continent to the Dorado was general. Raleigh had been to Guiana before, and had no reason to expect to find the Spaniards in possession. From the moment he risked a collision with them in order to gain the hinterland, he knew he had by so doing signed his death-warrant. Ranke, whose praise is as hard to win and as well bestowed (relatively, his materials for precision being infinitely greater) as that of Napoleon, writes, "It was perhaps the greatest moment in a life that almost always lifts itself above the ordinary level, when the thirst for discovery gained the victory over considera-

tions of legality and the danger involved in discarding them." Had success awaited him, a pardon would have followed. "But the pulse of free generosity, which befits a sovereign, did not beat in the breast of King James." Raleigh had been imprisoned for conspiring *with* Spain; he was executed for opposing it, but ostensibly on the former count. His most beautiful lines written on the eve of his execution have been well called by Professor Goldwin Smith "the death-song of the Elizabethan era." Carte's description of Raleigh's voyage is much the best. His old servant, Captain Kemmis, had brought back a pound of the ore from the Guinea[1] mines—apparently while Raleigh was in prison. Raleigh, though released, had neither pardon nor restitution of estate. Before he sailed, his plans were betrayed to Spain. The entrance of the river was held in force by the latter, and Kemmis could not reach the mine, which lay through impassable woods, and which would need negroes to work it. Raleigh had already lost his son, killed by the Spaniards, and Kemmis, when reproached with his failure, killed himself. This is Raleigh's version, but contemporary opinion believed that the mine existed only in his imagination. Bacon pleaded for him in vain, while Coke called him a monster, a viper, and a spider of hell.

01. Bacon.—"His too great indulgence to his servants was the cause of his ruin" (*Rushworth*). Nearly all his life long he had been heavily in debt. The prodigious intellect of a poor man stirs up the jealousy of mediocrities, and what Arthur Wilson calls "his lively wit, striving in some things to be rather admired than understood," made a lifelong enemy of each ignoramus. Carte notes that Osborne, who spared nobody, said of Bacon that he was so much master of every subject as to "entertain everybody in his respective profession," and make them imagine he understood more of it than themselves, and his most casual talk deserved to be written. All the improvements made since his time in the sciences were made in pursuance of his plans and built upon his foundation; a greater man never appeared in any age or in any country; he was an honour to his own. Being always in needy circumstances, he had accepted the customary perquisites which the non-payments of royalty made vital to his income. The

[1] Guinea had been discovered in 1595 by Raleigh, who had taken possession of it in Elizabeth's name.

king mitigated the harsh verdict of the Lords, made a composition with his creditors, and enabled him to spend the last six years of his life in quiet and comparative comfort. Carte concludes, "He died, the greatest man of earth died on April 9, 1626, in the sixty-sixth year of his age, poor as the most distinguished hero of antiquity, but, in despite of the arts and the malice of his enemies, ever to be honoured, admired, loved, and lamented." His action in the Essex trial is the chief blot on his character. He was the first to experiment in the advantages of Cold Storage, and lost his life thereby.

O2. Malpractice.—In these days of fervid tariff-tinkerers, it is perhaps helpful to remember that the proximate cause of his downfall was the help he gave "in introducing monopolies of different manufactures, under the pretence that work would be found for the poor by means of them."

P1. Two parties . . . the nation and the court—i.e. those called later Whigs and Tories. The first, says Rapin, always insists on the rights and privileges of the people, while the other labours incessantly to stretch the prerogative royal as far as possible; and he adds, "The mutual animosity of these parties, when first they were formed, was nothing in comparison of what it is at this day."

P2. A regulated plan of opposition.—"When one lord had spoken for or against the government, he was answered by another of the opposite party, and very often with a heat and passion unbecoming the dignity of the House" (*Rapin*).

P3. A Spanish princess.—The negotiations lasted seven years. Raleigh's execution had been England's preliminary peace-offering. By 1622 both parties were thoroughly in earnest. Spain was prepared to send over the Infanta with a dowry of two million pieces of eight, *i.e.* six hundred thousand pounds—more than all the money raised for King James by Parliament in twenty years. They were also prepared to restore his son-in law Ferdinand to his lost Palatinate. Charles was now the only son, and, as Hume points out, Spain thought that "a sincere friendship with the masters of the sea could not be purchased by too great concessions." The Pope's dispensation was, however, necessary for the marriage, and it was deferred in hopes that meanwhile they could induce Prince Charles to become a Catholic. In any case the Infanta

was to have the religious custody of any children till their tenth year—a secret clause which sooner or later must have seriously offended the nation. The journey of Charles incognito through France to Spain must have reminded James of his own romantic wooing. It was as fitting for a future king of Ireland to seek fearlessly a bride in the home of the Milesians as for a future king of England to brave the wild North-Easters to bring home a sea-king's daughter. It was to please the Duke of Buckingham that the Spanish match was finally broken off. In Madrid he had been as much disliked as Prince Charles had been admired, and he was probably afraid that his mortal enemy, our Spanish ambassador John Digby, Earl of Bristol, would thereby become too powerful. By ending the Spanish match and encouraging that with a daughter of Henry IV. of France, Buckingham became relatively popular in England. In the secret clauses favouring the Catholics, both in the French and Spanish Marriage Treaties, James showed his strong leaning towards Rome. When the Spanish ambassador learnt that the Spanish match was a thing of the past, he revenged himself in his lodgings on the portraits of our monarchs—especially on that of Queen Elizabeth! All the Prince's letters to the Infanta—spread over years—were returned to him unopened.

*P*4. *The Commons demanded war.*—"That the voice of Bellona must be heard, and not the voice of the Turtle," to which the king responded, "Dulce bellum inexpertis."

*P*5. *Not to interfere in affairs of government.*—He wrote to the Speaker, Sir Thomas Richardson, "to make known, in our name, unto the House, that none therein shall presume henceforth to meddle with anything concerning our government, or deep matters of state"—and especially not to criticise matters concerning the Spanish match.

*P*6. *Registers of the House.*—The king had the protestation erased from these books, which had only begun to be kept regularly with his reign.

*R*1. *Lord Treasurer.*—His crime was his sympathy with Spain. The king was opposed to the fine imposed on him, but was over-ruled by the Duke of Buckingham and Prince Charles. Since these last two had been at Madrid together they were united and all-powerful. The Earl of Middlesex, originally a

London merchant, owed his promotion entirely to Buckingham, but had offended the latter by not advancing him money to Madrid, and had now to endure his resentment. Charles on his accession remitted the fine.

R2. James I. died—of a tertian ague, or, as Archbishop Laud thinks, of gout in the stomach. His end was probably accelerated by poison from the hand of Buckingham. James was suspicious of the latter's influence over Charles, and of their joint wish to get rid of him. He therefore contemplated restoring the Earl of Somerset to favour, and bringing the Earl of Bristol back to London, where, as the Spanish government had already demanded the head of Buckingham, that favourite would soon have been in considerable jeopardy.

Under a king like James, always pacific by inclination and indigent by compulsion, the country prospered; on an average, imports and exports throughout this reign balance; the exports which were our monopolies were ship-building and cannon-founding, and the trade which paid us best was that with Turkey. Ranke points out that James's character was a mass of contradictions. "Careless, petty, and at the same time most unusually proud; a lover of pomp and ceremony, yet fond of solitude and retirement; fiery and at the same time lax; a man of genius and yet pedantic; eager to acquire and reckless in giving away; confidential and imperious;" a phantom-king under Cecil, a would-be despot later. His treatment of his son-in-law, the Elector Palatine, was atrocious; in foreign politics "he lived and moved in a policy of compromise." Isaac Disraeli has a kinder version, but admits that he was two persons in one, and cites his wariness and indiscretion; his mystery and openness; his shrewdness and his simplicity. Ranke shrewdly remarks, however, that James's craven clinging to peace at any price was because he dreaded being reduced to beg subsidies from Parliament—a position which the latter wished to create, even at the cost of war, as it would enable them to recover their ancient prerogative, and diminish that of the king.

R3. Basilicon Doron.—Isaac Disraeli, who considers the king's rights to literary eminence well grounded, looks on this book as "the heart of James I."

NOTES TO CHARLES I

"An intelligent foreigner has observed that since the days of our first Charles, English histories are the polemics of politics."—I. Disraeli, "Charles I."

*A*1. *Charles I.*—Napoleon, at St. Helena, was one of the first writers to examine at length the very obvious, if rather superficial, comparison of Charles I. and Louis XVI., but he shows himself superior to (*e.g.*) Alison by introducing the real culprits responsible for the English and French Revolutions respectively—Louis XV. and James I. At the beginning of May 1817, Gourgaud interested Napoleon in the comparison of these two kings; with his usual love of facts, Napoleon admitted that he had not read the reign of Charles since he was at the Military School, but would read it up in Hume (French edition). A few days afterwards he gave his views *in extenso* to Las Cases, who carefully records them (vol. ii. pp. 124–127, English edition):—

"In the course of the day, the conversation had turned on the similarity of the two great revolutions of England and France. 'There are many points, both of resemblance and of difference, between these two great events,' said the Emperor; 'they afford inexhaustible subjects for reflection.' He then made some very curious and remarkable observations. I shall here note down his remarks on this occasion, as well as at other intervals during the day.

"Both in France and England the storm gathered during the two feeble and indolent reigns of James I. and Louis XV., and burst over the heads of the unfortunate Charles I. and Louis XVI.

"Both these Sovereigns fell victims; both perished on the scaffold, and their families were proscribed and banished.

"Both monarchies became republics, and, during that period, both nations plunged into every excess which can degrade the

human heart and understanding. They were disgraced by scenes of madness, blood, and outrage. Every tie of humanity was broken, and every principle overturned.

"Both in England and France, at this period, two men vigorously stemmed the torrent, and reigned with splendour. After these, the two hereditary families were restored; but both pursued an erroneous course. They committed faults; a fresh storm suddenly burst forth in both countries, and expelled the two restored dynasties, without their being able to offer the least resistance to the adversaries who overthrew them.

"In this singular parallel, Napoleon appears to have been in France at once the Cromwell and the William III. of England. But as every comparison with Cromwell is in some degree odious, I must add that, if these two celebrated men coincided in one single circumstance of their lives, it was scarcely possible for two beings to differ more in every other point.

"Cromwell appeared on the theatre of the world at the age of maturity. He attained supreme rank only by dint of address, duplicity, and hypocrisy.

"Napoleon distinguished himself at the very dawn of manhood, and his first steps were attended by the purest glory.

"Cromwell attained supreme power, opposed and hated by all parties, and by affixing an everlasting stain on the English revolution.

"Napoleon, on the contrary, ascended the throne by obliterating the stains of the French revolution, and through the concurrence of all parties, who in turn sought to gain him as their chief.

"All the glory of Cromwell was bought by English blood; his triumphs were all so many causes of national mourning; but Napoleon's victories were gained over the foreign foe, and they filled the French nation with transport.

"Finally, the death of Cromwell was a source of joy to all England; the event was regarded as a public deliverance. The same cannot exactly be said of Napoleon's fall.

"In England the revolution was the rising of the whole nation against the king. The king had violated the laws, and usurped absolute power; and the nation wished to resume her rights.

"In France the revolution was the rising of one portion of the nation against another; that of the third estate against the nobility; *it was the reaction of the Gauls against the Franks.* The king was attacked not so much in his character of monarch as in his quality of chief of the feudal system. He was not reproached with having violated the laws; but the nation wished to emancipate and reconstitute itself.

"In England, if Charles I. had yielded voluntarily, if he had possessed the moderate and undecided character of Louis XVI., he would have survived.

"In France, on the contrary, if Louis XVI. had openly resisted, if he had had the courage, activity, and ardour of Charles I., he would have triumphed.

"During the whole conflict, Charles I., isolated in his kingdom, was surrounded only by partisans and friends, and was never connected with any constitutional branch of his subjects.

"Louis XVI. was supported by a regular army, by foreign aid, and two constitutional portions of the nation—the nobility and the clergy. Besides, there remained to Louis XVI. a second decisive resolution, which Charles I. had it not in his power to adopt, namely, that of ceasing to be a *feudal Chief*, in order to become a *national Chief.* Unfortunately, he could not decide on either the one or the other.

"Charles I. therefore perished because he resisted, and Louis XVI. because he did not resist. The one had a perfect conviction of the privileges of his prerogative; but it is doubtful whether the other had any such conviction, any more than he felt the necessity of exercising its privileges.

"In England, the death of Charles I. was the result of the artful and atrocious ambition of a single man.

"In France, it was the work of the blind multitude, of a disorderly popular assembly.

"In England, the representatives of the people evinced a slight shade of decorum by abstaining from being the judges and actors in the murder which they decreed; they appointed a tribunal to try the king.

"In France, the representatives of the people presumed to be at once accusers, judges, and executioners.

"In England, the affair was managed by an invisible hand:

it assumed an appearance of reflection and calmness. In France, it was managed by the multitude, whose fury was without bounds.

"In England, the death of the king gave birth to the Republic. In France, on the contrary, the birth of the Republic caused the death of the king.

"In England, the political explosion was produced by the efforts of the most ardent religious fanaticism. In France, it was brought about amidst the acclamations of cynical impiety, each according to different ages and manners.

"The English revolution was ushered in by the excesses of the gloomy school of Calvin. The loose doctrines of the modern school conjured up the storm in France.

"In England, the revolution was mingled with civil war. In France, it was attended by foreign war; and to the efforts and opposition of foreigners the French may justly attribute their excesses. The English can advance no such excuse for theirs.

"In England, the army proved itself capable of every act of outrage and fury; it was the scourge of the citizens.

"In France, on the contrary, we owed every benefit to the army. Its triumphs abroad either diminished, or caused us to forget, our horrors at home. The army secured independence and glory to France.

"In England, the Restoration was the work of the English people, who hailed the event with the most lively enthusiasm. The nation escaped slavery, and seemed to have recovered freedom. It was not precisely thus in France."

Of late years the public estimation of the character of Charles has waxed as that of the clownish Louis XVI. has waned. Both helped their navies and privateering, but Charles did so with a "patriotic spirit and provident wisdom" which Alison says has been only too often overlooked. Both had wives sadly misunderstood. Of Charles's personal character Ranke says, "He was one of those young men of whom it is said they have no fault. His strict propriety of demeanour bordered on maiden bashfulness; a serious and temperate soul spoke from his calm eyes. He had a natural gift for apprehending even the most complicated questions, and he was a good writer." He was thrifty and precise, a good rider, a good shot, and fond of hunting.

One of his first acts was to restore the Earl of Middlesex to favour, making him Secretary of State.

Faithlessness was the chief cause of his disasters, says Macaulay, and the chief stain on his memory ; and he adds that Charles seems perfidious not only from constitution and from habit, but also on principle. In his later life Napoleon is the great object-lesson on the other side. He never was blessed with a Strafford, but though he knew the dangerous ambitions of Murat and Soult, the venality of Masséna, the almost undisguised treachery of Talleyrand and Fouché, the venomous but timorous backbitings of Bourrienne or of Madame de Rémusat, he forgave all to any one who directly or indirectly had helped him or been his comrade in early days. To Buckingham, Charles was a lifelong friend, and he dissolved the Parliaments, much to his own hurt, in order to save him. After Buckingham's murder, Charles was completely in the hands of his wife. One would have expected tact from a daughter of Henry IV., but she, like her husband, failed to realise that "power only attends sympathetic leadership" (*Gardiner*).

*A*2. *Spain.*—Neither Charles nor James I. thought it possible for England, unaided by France, to face the power of Spain. The fighting Tudor blood had gone, never to return. France, under Louis XIII. and Marie de Medici, was becoming more Catholic, and this alliance was unpopular in England, especially as it bereft the Huguenots of their last hopes. The fight for the Palatinate drooped for want of watering by English gold.

*A*3. *Married.*—Henrietta Maria was married at Paris on Sunday, May 1st, Claude of Lorraine, Duke of Chevreuse, being proxy ; and escorted by her brother and Buckingham to Dover, where she was to have been met by Charles. She was, however, sea-sick, and sent word to Charles to wait a day, which he did. The wedding ceremony took place at Canterbury. This royal and youthful pair met with the eagerness of lovers (quotes Disraeli from a contemporary letter), and the first words of Henrietta were those of devotion : "Sire ! Je suis venue en ce pays de votre majesté pour être usée et commandée de vous." Another royal bride brought her husband similar homage, for Napoleon told Gourgaud of his first meeting with Marie Louise : "I asked her what they had told her when quitting Vienna, and

she answered ingenuously that her father and Madame Larniska had advised her, 'Aussitôt que vous serez seule avec l'Empereur Napoléon, vous ferez absolument tout ce qu'il vous dira, vous lui obéirez en tout ce qu'il pourra exiger.' C'était une charmante enfant."

*A*4. *Henrietta.*—The king, in defiance of unlucky associations, called her Maria. French brides had always been fatal to English husbands, and Mary was associated with Bloody Mary, with the Pale Daughter of Debate, and with her French mother. This one at least had the good fortune to have her memory handed down in the beautiful name of Maryland. A few years earlier he had sought "*per ver mi estrella Maria*" in a Spanish Infanta.

*B*1. *A king's chaplain*—Dr. Richard Montague, Prebendary of Windsor. His first book in 1624 was "A new Gag for an old Goose," written against a Popish treatise called "A new Gag for the old Gospel." The Archbishop told him to write no more on such subjects, whereupon he dedicated his "Appeal to Cæsar" to Charles I. The fact is that Montague was a strong Arminian, *i.e.* a believer in Free Will as opposed to Predestination, and consequently, while Laud and other moderate divines sympathised with him, he was worse hated by the Calvinist majority of the Commons than if he had been a thorough-going Papist. The latter was determined not to spare the established religion or their zeal, as Carte says, "for a new religion of their own fangling."

The king was much annoyed at such interference with his chaplain, and two subsidies failed to propitiate him. The Plague in London (four to five thousand deaths per week) caused Parliament to be transferred to Oxford. Here they summoned Montague to appear before them a second time, and he was severely reprimanded (*Rapin*). Hume sarcastically remarks that the book gave great disgust to the Puritans, because "it saved virtuous Catholics, as well as other Christians, from eternal torments."

*B*2. *Parliament was dissolved.*—The king made the pretext that the Plague had penetrated to Oxford. As a matter of fact, he was deeply grieved and disillusioned. "He discovered that in his new Parliament he was married to a sullen bride: the youthful monarch, with the impatience of a lover, warm with

hope and glory, was ungraciously repulsed even in the first favours" (*D'Israeli*).

*B*3. *Grievances.*—Parliament had expected a submissive agent in Charles. Now, as one of its Members said, "The *posse* was added to the *velle*, the kingly power to the willing mind." They in return would have been prepared to give him "fruits of their love," for so they called subsidies. King James had left debts aggregating seven hundred thousand pounds. One of the grievances was that grocers were allowed to compound medicines which "required art in the preparation."

*B*4. *Subsidies.*—The Parliament sometimes promised subsidies, but often refused to act up to their promises (*Ranke*).

*B*5. *Raised money.*—Partly to man the fleet that now sailed for Spain. The disembarkation was successful, but the heady wine of the country made the men as drunk and disorderly as the first English army which was to have met Napoleon, but which fled helter-skelter, a drunken mob, at the mere mention of his name, till, safe under the guns of their fleet, it secured its embarkation against a foe short of ammunition, and against Soult—at this time a more than doubtfully-disposed leader.

*C*1. *The illustrious Pym.*—Barrow's translator has *fameux*, Napoleon says *célèbre*, which seems to be another indication that the young student wrote his notes from memory, or at least under definite convictions of his own, after having read through the reign in question.

*D*1. *The impeachment of the Duke of Buckingham.*—The hero of this episode was Sir John Eliot, the first of the Commons to defy the king, and to "roll back to Jove his own bolts." Sir Dudley Digges compared the Duke to "a meteor exhaled out of putrid matter," and Eliot followed by likening him to the foul beast Stellionatus, and finally, amid general approbation, to Sejanus. Both orators found themselves forthwith prisoners in the Tower on the king's writ. The Commons blocked all further business till the two Members were released, and their freedom was accorded a few days later. Of Buckingham a contemporary is quoted by Mrs. Hutchinson, which says, "He seemed as an unhappy exhalation, drawn up from the earth, not only to cloud the setting but the rising sun."

*E*1. *More honour for a prince.*—This was a retort to Mr.

Clement Coke's declaration that "he would rather be an enemy's prey than see himself slowly devoured by taxes at home."

F1. The Earl of Bristol was confined—*i.e.* by the order of the late king, and at the instigation of his arch-enemy, Buckingham.

F2. The Duke of Buckingham.—Among the various charges against him were those of buying the Lord High Admiralship and the Wardenship of the Cinque Ports, by payment of three thousand pounds and a thousand pounds respectively to the former owner, and an annuity; of seizing a French ship worth forty thousand pounds; of oppressing the East India Company; and of forcing Lord Roberts of Truro to pay ten thousand pounds for a barony. Respecting his neglect of the Narrow Seas the duke had no difficulty in showing that, whereas the usual guard of these seas was four ships, he had added to the number. As to his nepotism he avowed that the law of nature would plead in his behalf, "and he is apt to think he should be condemned in the opinion of all generous minds if, being in such favour with his Majesty, he had minded only his own advancement, and neglected those to whom he was so nearly related and tied by natural affection and duty."

Hume acquiesces heartily in the acquittal of Buckingham, and says that, great as his faults were, rapacity and avarice were vices with which he was totally unacquainted.

G1. Dispensing with the penal laws against them.—This is not in the text, but is Napoleon's own comment on the transaction.

G2. Tonnage and poundage.—"Tonnage, a duty on all wines imported; *poundage*, an *ad valorem* customs duty on all merchandise." Ever since Edward IV. (Carte says Henry V.), the kings had enjoyed this perquisite, which they deemed outside the cognisance of Parliament (*Ranke*). Tonnage and poundage formed half the revenues of the king. As far back as Athelstan the king received wine dues at the port of Hull. Richard II. received two shillings per tun on wine and sixpence per pound on merchandise; but Sir John Philpot and two others were elected to see that this revenue was applied to the maintenance of a fleet in being, or, as Carte calls it, the "safeguarding of the sea."

G3. Those who delayed the payment.—Many were imprisoned far from home, including Sir Thomas Wentworth, afterwards Earl of Stafford, the king's truest friend.

H1. Confined to his country-seat.—At Ford, five miles from Canterbury, "a moorish, unhealthy place" (*Rapin*).

H2. A priest—Sibthorpe.

H3. Etc.—To make a public recantation, to be imprisoned, suspended, and declared incapable of filling any office, civil or ecclesiastical.

I1. Needing money.—At this time, just as a century earlier, the three dominant kings of Christendom (those of Spain, of England, and of France) were young men. Charles, Louis, and Philip, however, were reined and bridled by Buckingham, Richelieu, and Olivarez respectively. Buckingham, whose gallantries now aspired to the Queen of France, but were foiled by Cardinal Richelieu, persuaded Charles into a French war, as he had lured James into a Spanish one. In time of peace he caused English men-of-war to seize French merchantmen. The attack on the Isle of Rhé was a disastrous failure in spite of his own personal bravery : making the third failure of our arms, the expeditions to Cadiz and the Low Countries being only a shade less disastrous.

I2. A new Parliament.—The Commons were so opulent that collectively they were said to be three times as rich as the House of Peers.

I3. Made no impression.—Parliament found out that the king had had a long interview with Buckingham, and that the speech was at the instigation of the latter.

I4. Sir Edward Coke.—Henry VIII. or Elizabeth would have given short shrift to such a speech as his at such a juncture. "Was it ever known that general words were a sufficient satisfaction to particular grievances? Was ever a verbal declaration of the king *verbum regni?* When grievances be, the Parliament is to redress them. Did ever Parliament rely on messages? They put up petitions of their grievances, and the king never answered them; the king's answer is very gracious; but what is the law of the realm? This is the question. I put no diffidence[1] in his Majesty; the king must speak by a record, and in particulars, not in general. Did you ever know the king's

[1] This use of the word in its Shakespearian (and Masonic) sense, as *distrust in another*, is interesting at this juncture, as King Charles himself seems to have been the originator of the word in its modern sense (see Todd's "Johnson").

message come into a Bill of Subsidies? All succeeding kings will say, Ye must trust me as well as ye did my predecessors, and trust my messages; but messages of love never came into Parliament. Let us put up a petition of right; not that I distrust the king, but that I cannot take his trust but in a Parliamentary way" (*Rushworth* in *Rapin*).

15. Renewed.—Not in Barrow.

16. Enjoy the law of Habeas Corpus.—"Even if," adds Barrow, "he should have been arrested by order of the king, or the council." Ranke points out that this was at a time when the reins of absolutism on the Continent were most tightly gripped; and when Richelieu, who was the guiding world-spirit of his day, imprisoned troublesome people at his pleasure without a trial.

17. The Bill of Liberty—i.e. the Bill of Rights, or, as Barrow introduces the subject, "A Bill to ensure their rights and privileges." The clause above respecting loans belongs to it; also one against soldiers or sailors being billeted in private houses instead of in taverns or inns.

18. Was passed.—Charles had tried his best to get off with general promises, but it was not till their petition was answered, "Soit droit fait comme il est desiré," that the Parliament was satisfied.

J1. An order of the king.—To Sir William Balfour and to Sir John D'Albier. Besides the infantry there were to be a thousand Dutch cavalry.

J2. A body of cavalry.—A standing army was the one thing needful to make Charles as absolute as the French king, and it was here that Wentworth's system of Thorough finally broke down. The pens that could alone make taxes lawful were to prove more powerful than the swords of the chivalry of England.

K1. Weston. He was also made Earl of Portland. His economies enabled Charles for a time to dispense with a Parliament.

K2. Laud. His promotion to London was due to Buckingham; his further promotion to Canterbury, to the king. He was the last of the great sixteenth-century scholars who took all learning as their province. But even his wish to allow Sunday

amusements could not make the people forgive his bigotry. Mrs. Hutchinson calls him "a fellow of mean extraction and arrogant pride," which is an early proof of the truth of an observant novelist's dictum that "no one is so hostile to lowly-born pretenders to high station as the pure Whig."[1]

*K*3. *Bishop of Chichester.*—Manwaring also was made Rector of Stanford Rivers, with a dispensation to hold St. Giles-in-the-Fields.

*L*1. *The Duke of Buckingham was assassinated*—by Felton, an officer who had fought under him at the Isle of Rhé and expected promotion on the death of his old captain, but had not got it. The Earl of Denbigh, hoping to raise the siege of La Rochelle, had just met a French fleet and been very roughly handled. Buckingham was about to go to avenge him. Barrow thus describes him: "His imagination was vivid, and he was well read. Brave, courteous, generous; but ardent, flighty, a slave to his passions, sacrificing the nation's interests to his private animosities, such was the Duke of Buckingham." Ranke says that the end of his life was certainly the best part of it. He would probably have saved La Rochelle and then Krempe, where the Danes were hard pressed. Of the fifteen thousand shut up in the former place only four thousand survived the siege. He left three hundred thousand pounds in jewels, which he was wont to wear as earrings. Carte's praise is more extravagant. Buckingham was only thirty-six when he died.

*M*1. *These moments of temper.*—They were equally so on the king's side. To his more or less faithful lords he spoke of the ringleaders of the Commons as vipers who must look for their reward of punishment.

*M*2. *Nine were summoned.*—The papers of Hollis, Eliot, and John Selden were seized, and the five who had not answered to their summons were ordered to be arrested.

*M*3. *Alderman Chambers was prosecuted*—in the Star Chamber. The enormous fine which was imposed reduced the poor man to penury. It was two thousand pounds. What he had actually said was that the "merchants were more screwed up and wrung in England than in Turkey." The translator of Barrow has *marchand* for merchant. He had refused to pay more than legal

[1] Trollope, "Barchester Towers."

duty on a bale of silk, and had been summoned before the Privy Council.

*M*4. *The imprisoned Members.*—They were detained under the king's warrant from March to October, three of them heavily fined, and were then told they would be kept in prison during the king's pleasure. Their creature comforts seem, however, to have been well looked after at the king's cost. They were looked upon by the people as martyrs in the cause of liberty. Charles, about this time, finding it hopeless to fight without subsidies, made peace with France and Spain.

*M*5. *Warehouses and counting-houses*—and private offices. This year (May 29, 1630) the future Charles II. was born. A bright star visible at noonday was considered a good omen by the king.

*M*6. *Oppression.*—Like the parson-schoolmaster of these days objected to by Kipling, he punished first and preached at them afterwards. Defending his favouring of Montague and religious matters generally, he told them that "as bad stomachs turn the best things into their nature, for want of a good digestion, so these distempered persons have done the like of our good intents by a bad and sinister interpretation. . . . Their cry likewise was 'the temple of the Lord, the temple of the Lord,' when the true care of the Church never came into their hearts."

*N*1. *Forty pounds sterling.*—As in the reigns of Edward VI. and Elizabeth. When the law was passed in the reign of Edward it was twenty pounds, but this, even in the seventeenth century, was equivalent to two hundred pounds to-day.

*N*2. *Very heavy fines—i.e.* for their disobedience.

*N*3. *Charles oppressed.*—With all his virtues his love of secrecy caused misunderstanding and suspicion. "The contradictions in his conduct entangled him in embarrassments in which his declarations, if always true in the sense he privately gave them, were only a hair's-breadth removed from actual and even from intentional untruth" (*Ranke*). Charles was now ruling by means of his clergy and his judges. Archbishop Laud was ready to play the part of a Byzantine patriarch to an Emperor of the East, of a servile Pope to a conquering Charlemagne. Not only the people but the nobles were alienated. Meanwhile the tide of emigration was going out with a stronger current, and between 1630 and

1638 no less than fifty thousand colonists had settled in the New World.

O1. 1632.—This year the unfortunate Frederick V., Elector Palatine, died at Mayence, far from wife and children. This death was overshadowed by the great one of Gustavus Adolphus, his chief, just before, and of Wallenstein shortly after.

O2. The Northern Court.—"The Council of the North, which embraced the counties of Yorkshire, Northumberland, and Westmorland, the bishopric of Durham, the towns of Newcastle, York, and Hull, was restored by Wentworth, in spite of all opposition, to the high position which it had possessed under the Tudors" (*Ranke*). This Court had been established in the reign of Henry VIII. for the alleviation of the poor litigants of these counties, who could not afford to bring their cases all the way to Westminster.

P1. Without a Parliament.—Weston, the Lord Treasurer, enabled him to do this. He had the shrewdness of Colbert, and the suavity, save to his queen, of the enchanter Calonne, who heralded a greater revolution. James had left debts aggregating three-quarters of a million sterling at eight per cent., and Charles had to pay twelve per cent. for four hundred thousand more. Weston's economies soon paid off half these debts. He largely replaced Buckingham in the regard of the king, who had but one hero at a time whom he always supported against all comers.

The king wished to emulate Henry VIII. and to attain despotism constitutionally. But the man, the men, and the times were different.

He evoked old forgotten laws, and, as the Venetian ambassador said, sought "with the key of the laws to open the entrance to absolute power." Obsolete forest rights, new monopolies, and ship money were the main expedients. The monopolies were granted to companies and not to private individuals, and may yet prove a working-model of reward for the loyal henchmen of tariff-reform.

P2. The king consulted the queen about everything.—Napoleon was probably thinking of his own king, and the Austrian queen who guided *her* husband in all things.

P3. Her own religion.—Ranke, however, is convinced that Charles would never either have become a Papist or encouraged

their tenets. The Pope's agent, Cuneo, in fact, never tried to gain him further to their cause, as the Catholics were well protected under Charles. On the other hand, Hume tells a good story of a daughter of the Earl of Devonshire who, having turned Catholic, was asked by Archbishop Laud the reason of her conversion: "'Tis chiefly because I hate to travel in a crowd." Asked for an interpretation, she adds: "I perceive your grace and many others are making haste to Rome, and therefore, in order to prevent my being crowded, I have gone before you."

*Q*1. 1633.—At this date the Dutch were masters of the sea.

*R*1. *A Puritan.*—William Prynne, a dour Lincoln lawyer. His work was *Histrio Mastyx* ("The Actor's Scourge"), a long diatribe (1000 pages) against dances, theatres, and masquerades, with palpable slanders of the king and queen. Summoned to the Star Chamber, his book was ordered to be burned by the executioner. Prynne was to be struck off the Rolls, to be deprived of his Oxford degrees, to lose his ears in the pillory, to pay the king a fine of five thousand pounds, and to be imprisoned for life. The printer was fined five hundred pounds, and the chaplain who licensed the book fifty pounds. Prynne's ears were fastened on again, and he became as insolent as before. Like the early English Jesuits he maintained that it was not murder to execute a prince.

*S*1. *John Hampden.*—Carte praises his ability and knowledge of history, stating that his favourite book was D'Avila's "History of the French Civil Wars," which work he called his *vade mecum*. Carte adds that probably Hampden's cousin-german, Oliver Cromwell, learned from him the most useful talents he possessed—those of dissimulation and persuasion. The sum which Hampden refused to pay was only twenty shillings.

*S*2. *Ship money.*—Charles had certainly rights for at least a five per cent. tax for renewing his navy, when France and the Netherlands, the two strongest naval powers of the day, were in alliance against us. Hume thinks the tax perfectly legitimate, well utilised and necessary. By 1636, thanks to ship money, England had a fleet of sixty ships, the most formidable she had ever known, by means of which the Dutch were made to pay thirty thousand pounds for a year's herring fishery in our waters.

*T*1. *The Anglican liturgy in Scotland.* — The crisis in the survival of Protestantism was acute and ominous. On the Continent, Nordlingen had been fought and lost, and the Swedes driven back to their own shores. The Peace of Prague favoured the aspirations of Spain, with whom Charles was always supposed to be in secret sympathy. It had also brought home Dugald Dalgettys by the dozen, anxious once more to handle their swords and to get pay for their piety. To the eye and ear little was wrong in the Liturgy, but to these keen-scented Scots the reek of Spanish fires had passed over it. They mistrusted their bishops and the primacy of Canterbury; and they feared the union of the English Church and State to their own undoing. They furbished up the old Covenant passed in 1581, in one of the darkest hours of the Scotch Reformation; but whereas the former Covenant had been for alliance under their king, the new one was for alliance independent of the king. The king agreed to sign the old Covenant, to dissolve the Court of High Commission in Scotland, to recall the two books, and to consent to a General Assembly at Glasgow. He had now fulfilled all their original demands.

*T*2. *The banner of revolt.*—Ranke points out a parallel between the General Assembly at Glasgow and the French National Assembly a hundred and fifty years later. Both repudiated the king's authority, and then continued to hold sittings and draw up resolutions. Charles, however, resolved on war. He had a favourable precedent in the revolt of Arragon against the Inquisition, a revolt which Philip had easily put down. But Charles and Laud would not see that treachery lurked within their own folds. The Scotch determination not only to suspend but to excommunicate every bishop in their land found ready sympathy among the ever-growing Puritan party in England. It must never be forgotten that it was the Scotch victory at Newburn, Strafford's reproaches to the beaten British troops, and the alliance of Scotch and English Presbyterians which finally forced Charles to flight.

*T*3. *Civil war was kindled.*—Ordered home by the heads of their clans, the Scotch mercenaries hurried back to Scotland. First and foremost came Field-Marshal Alexander Lesley, the comrade of Gustavus Adolphus and Oxenstiern. King Charles

had embittered him by refusing to accept his foreign exploits as a claim for a barony, whereupon Lesley sought French gold to raise an insurrection in England, which Richelieu hastened to find. Recruits hurried in from all parts, ammunition and even ordnance came from Holland. But at present it was on all sides largely a game of bluff; neither side wished to force hostilities. The Scots on their flags had the words "For God, *the king* and the Covenant." Their hostility was against the bishops, and the war was called *bellum episcopale*. For a short time the Pacification of Berwick satisfied both parties, but by this time new troubles were impending. Charles had managed to offend at once Spain, France, and Holland, so that the latter two were more disposed to help Scotland. The conduct of Charles respecting Oquendo's fleet in the Downs was a disgrace to England, but an epoch in the history of the Reformation. The advent of Marie de Medicis, the Queen Mother, and of the beautiful intriguante, the Duchesse de Chevreuse, began the latent hostility to France.

Without the king or his High Commissioner the Scots Parliament reassembled on June 2, 1640. The gentry and not the Commons were paramount, and it was decided to march into England. Through Lord Conway's negligence the passes of the Tyne and Newcastle were seized. The king and Strafford could not raise at York a force competent to cope with the Scots. Strafford guaranteed Yorkshire, but not Cumberland and Westmorland. The loss of Newcastle meant the loss of its main coal-supply to London, which had now realised that coal was a necessity. Every new stride in civilisation which implies dependence on outside help weakens the natural efficiency of the central authority in times of stress and difficulty. Under promise of a new Parliament, the Peers borrowed in London two hundred thousand pounds for the king, and that the truce might be maintained the money was employed in paying for both the Scotch and English armies. The Scotch Presbyterians were working hand and glove with the English Puritans. The first brewings of the storm were now apparent, the Scotch seeking help from Germany, Sweden, and even France.

Macaulay points out how difficult it had always been to govern the Scotch. "They had butchered their first James in his bedchamber; they had repeatedly arrayed themselves in arms

against James the Second; they had slain James the Third on the field of battle; their disobedience had broken the heart of James the Fifth; they had deposed and imprisoned Mary; they had led her son captive."

*U*1. 1640.—This year torture was inflicted for the last time in England (*Macaulay*).

*U*2. *Lesser means—i.e.* money-gifts by the Catholics and by his own clergy.

*U*3. *A Parliament*—called the Short Parliament, as it only lasted three weeks. The boroughs dominated the elections, and even in Westminster the king saw his own candidate beaten.

*U*4. *The illustrious Pym.*—In Barrow, simply Mr. Pym, Member for Tavistock. (Napoleon, as in the case of Hereward, Wallace, and the Earl of Arundel, always waxes eloquent in his Notes over a real or apparent patriot, altogether irrespective of his author.) "La dame de ses pensées" was the beautiful Dowager Countess of Carlisle, described by Waller, in her weeds, as

"A Venus rising from a sea of jet."

She was said to be the mistress of Strafford and Pym, but nothing is really known in proof of that assertion. She combined the beauty and the fancy-free demeanour of Madame Récamier with the wit and talent for intrigue of Madame de Staël. From 1636 to 1660 she proved Meredith's saying, that a witty beauty is a power. Nearly every year she was actually—what Madame de Staël, with all her wealth, hungered (generally in vain) to be—the centre of a plot; and yet Lucy Hay, *née* Percy, Countess of Carlisle, the most elusive and charming personality of the period, still lacks her biographer.

*U*5. *Exactions* (*vexations*)—so Napoleon; but he means the people's grievances against the king. Barrow says that Pym distinguished himself by a studied speech, in which he recapitulated various grievances and frivolous irregularities in the king's conduct. He compared the innovations in religion to Ezekiel's vision of the dry bones, &c.

*U*6. *A bad turn.*—Wentworth, although the finest administrative expander of England till the day of the East Indian proconsuls, could not be everywhere. While he was ruling Ireland

better than it had ever been ruled before, Charles's wife and courtiers were making the king and his leaders a laughing-stock. No ruler can long survive ridicule, and the disrespect which is the portion of poverty.

*U*7. *The Pope's agent*—called the Papal Resident. This gave Pym scope for his most effective attack.

*W*1. *Pym.*—Like all great men who leave deeds behind them, he made many enemies as well as friends. Like Pitt and Fox, but with a better fiduciary record, he died in debt. He excelled in uniting hostile elements—the Scots, the Emigrants, the present Parliament, all put their trust in him. There was not much choice, for, as Harbottle Grimstone had said, "Judges have overthrown the law, and the bishops religion."

*W*2. *Puritan authors.*—Prynne, Bastwick, and Burton.

*X*1. *Strafford . . . Laud.*—Parliament knew that their hour of triumph had come, and they lost not a day. Never did a king throw away first the fight and then his honour as Charles did by summoning Strafford to London.

*X*2. *The courtiers*—including John Finch, Lord Keeper, and Secretary Windebank. Others suspected by Parliament had to give surety that they would remain in the country—among them Brampton, Davenport, and Crawley, and Wren, Bishop of Ely.

*X*3. *The king found himself alone*—and, as Barrow adds, "The torrent was too strong for him to oppose, and he sought in all sincerity to be reconciled with the Commons." One can fancy the interest to Napoleon on the eve of the Revolution, reading this period of English history. As Isaac Disraeli said, "Text and commentary! The French Revolution abounds with wonderful explanatory notes" on the English. Curiously enough, in my French edition of Barrow, this passage ("The torrent was too strong," &c.) in the ninth volume, dated 1772, is the only one which a previous reader has marked. Just prior to the French Revolution a great literary epoch closed, that of Diderot and D'Alembert, of Voltaire and Rousseau. These men sowed the wind, but escaped the whirlwind. Our old Golden Age of Literature was dying with James I. The grit of the Elizabethan dramatist was followed by the mellifluous ditties of lovelorn Cavaliers. The patrician wisdom of Shakespere and Bacon was

eventually to find its counterpart in the sinewy prose and poetry of Selden and Milton.

Y1. Two Courts of High Commission—i.e. Canterbury and York. They were abolished. Perhaps the most significant Act which Charles had to sign this year was the one which allowed any English subject to manufacture gunpowder and saltpetre.

Y2. Many families—i.e. fifty in his own diocese.

Z1. The Bill to exclude the clergy—from the House of Peers, which, however, the Peers would not willingly agree to. Churchwardens were also ordered to remove pictures from parish churches. At Canterbury, when the usual breaking of rare stained glass was taking place, the picture of Christ was broken, "but out of a singular respect for the devil *his* was left" (*Carte*).

Z2. To suppress Bishops, Archdeacons.—Not quite accurate. What Barrow says is Deans, Chapters, Archdeacons, Prebendaries, Chantries, Canons, and their officers should be totally suppressed and their revenues employed in the encouragement of studies, of the sciences, and of helping on other good works. Pym seemed to think that Bishops should logically follow the disbanded monks, but in making the House of Lords impossible as a counterpoise to the Commons he was breaking up the whole fabric of the English Constitution. To abolish the entire Anglican establishment from Archbishop to Archdeacon was one thing, to find efficient clerical overseers was another. Carte observes that Bishops were necessary "to curb the petulant humours of some preachers, especially of the younger sort."

Z3. Earl of Rothes.—Out of pages of secondary matter Napoleon pounces as usual on a fact of prime importance.

Z4. Scotch deputies.—"When the Scotch deputies came to London they expected to find friends, but they found something more; they were themselves amazed at the deference and admiration lavished on them and their country" (*Ranke*).

Aa1. The Earl of Strafford.—"The Scotch hated him as their implacable foe; the House of Commons saw in him only an apostate. . . . The twenty-eight heads of accusation were charged with all the venom of malignity and all the energy of eloquence" (*Barrow*). The queen hated him—all but his hands, which she admitted were "the finest in the world." Napoleon's female enemies admitted the same personal advantage to their foe.

*Aa*2. *A Bill of Attainder*—called by Barrow a disgrace to both Houses. The king's plot to get possession of the Tower and free Strafford by force became known to Pym and sealed the Earl's fate. Some say the king was in terror for his wife's safety, and others, that the queen still hated Strafford. In either case the end was the same—the king broke his sword and signed the death warrant. Barrow gives a very full account and panegyric of this brave man, and it is to be noted significantly, but with regret, that our "child of the revolution" has no word of pity or respect for him.

This Bill was homicide, only justified, perhaps, for the Commons by the plea of self-preservation. To kill a man for breaking a law which they had made afterwards to fit his crime was a burlesque of justice. To compass the king's death was alone high-treason. The House of Commons passed the Bill by two hundred and four votes against fifty-nine. It was finally extorted from the Upper House by twenty-six votes to nineteen. On a Saturday the king was asked to sign, and the intimidating presence of two thousand men, mostly armed, added urgency. The king deferred his decision till Monday, and then yielded. However much we may sympathise with the Parliament party before and after, one cannot help wishing that a "whiff of grape-shot" had been available for the king's side at this juncture. To sign the death-sentence of a man whose whole life had been spent for the greatness of England and the honour of its king was not only the saddest but the worst act of King Charles's life. The authenticity of Strafford's letters to the king freeing the latter from his promise of protection is stoutly denied by Carte, chiefly on the evidence of Strafford's son. Of his death, Archbishop Usher told the king that never had he seen so white a soul return to its Maker. Cardinal Richelieu's comment was that the English must certainly be a very foolish people, since they would not let the wisest head among them stand upon its own shoulders.

*Ab*1. *Hazlerigg.*—Barrow here has Fiennes.

*Ac*1. *Incited by Cardinal Richelieu.*—Mr. I. Disraeli has pointed out that the Cardinal not only inspired the articles in the *Mercure François*, but sometimes wrote them himself. In the seventeenth century one hardly expects to find a journalist "under the red robe."

*Ac*2. *Massacred . . . forty thousand.*—The horrors perpetrated at this juncture by the Catholics well merited the curse of Cromwell later.

*Ad*1. *Nominated the officers.*—"A lord general for the land forces and a lord high admiral for the fleet" (*Ranke*).

*Ae*1. *The London populace.*—The London apprentices were first called Roundheads during this fracas, from their short-cropped hair.

*Ae*2. *No Bishops.*—Archbishop Williams, with eleven of the Bishops, misreading the signs of the times as badly as the king, had most foolishly signed an instrument declaring all Parliamentary proceedings done in the enforced absence of the Bishops null and void. (They were being stoned by the people, and thus prevented from attending Parliament.)

*Ae*3. *All London was in the greatest ferment.*—But it all ended in aid for Parliament. Before August, 1643, London had found for it sixty thousand men and three millions sterling (*Carte*).

*Ae*4. *The apprentices.*—These were the dogs of war which the Mayor and Corporation could always slip from their leash as occasion served. Often they burst loose themselves. It was the success of the Presbyterian party in the City of London in the November elections which upset all calculations on the king's side.

*Af*1. *The king had the imprudence.*—Advised by Earl Digby (*Barrow*).

*Af*2. *Kimbolton.*—Lord Kimbolton, formerly Mandeville, afterwards Earl of Manchester.

*Af*3. *Hollis.*—"Violent and sincere, open and entire in his enmities and in his friendships" (*Hume*).

*Af*4. *Pym.*—Carte, though a partisan, always tries to tell the truth. It is interesting therefore to note that while Hollis, Kimbolton, Hampden, and Hazlerigg win his praises, Carte considers John Pym an unmitigated humbug, as lax in morals as in religion. He owed his promotion to hanging on to the skirts of a rich man ; and, being the most plausible and imperturbable man of his time, he managed to encourage disestablishment of the bishops on the one hand, while proving to his patron that the only way to save his own abbey lands was by finding money for the Parliament Campaign. Had Pym lived, what would have

become of Cromwell? Would the man who compassed the death of his old friend Strafford have been able to outwit his quondam comrade of the emigrant ship? Carte says that "Pym was admirably skilled in the art of political lying," while Clarendon defines him as "the most popular man and the most able to do hurt that hath lived in any time." Yet in the matter of dissimulation Cromwell is hard to beat, and, as Professor Goldwin Smith well says, "Who can see across two centuries and a half into a heart so deep as that of Cromwell?"

*Af*5. *High-treason.*—The king's powers in this respect had been largely modified when he accepted the Petition of Rights.

*Af*6. *The following day.*—The people's temper was rapidly rising, and as the king was driving to the Guildhall, an ironmonger, Henry Walker, threw a paper into his carriage on which was written, "To your tents, O Israel!"

*Af*7. *The five members immediately escaped.*—The king's threat soon dimmered down like a damp squib. If he was in earnest at first, he flinched at running the risk, and the Lord Chamberlain, Essex, was sent to inform the five members that the king was coming to seize their persons. Naturally it was arranged that when he came they were not to be found. Their first naming, however, came from the Countess of Carlisle.

*Af*8. *The latter replied*—on his knees.

*Af*9. *In the position he occupied.*—"He was but the organ of the House, and had no eyes to see, no tongue to speak, anything but what the House bade him" (*Ranke*).

*Af*10. *When the king retired.*—His five hundred soldiers, with drawn swords and loaded pistols, had lined the approaches of the House, but the king alone had gone forward and taken the chair. A time was to come, some ten eventful years after these notes were written, when Napoleon, though for the only known time in his life quailing at the deed, employed his escort to turn out neck and crop the lower legislative Chamber of France. Had Charles dared *his* Brumaire, the French Revolution itself might have missed fire, and Napoleon have fulfilled his tutor's predictions and won success at sea by joining, as he once thought of doing, the British navy. Doubtless he would have become an Admiral, a terror to the Bourbons, the rival of Nelson, and the pet of Earl St. Vincent and the Board of Admiralty.

*Af*11. *Privilege—i.e.* in the king's hearing.

*Af*12. *Presenting counts of indictment*—against their own members in the Upper House. He, however, held the king's express command for his conduct.

*Ag*1. *Lord Digby.*—"A man of universal culture, who had seen many countries, and possessed very varied knowledge, amiable when he liked, and spirited, at once versatile and resolute." His father was Lord Bristol, the former foe of Buckingham. "They were not to be compared to Strafford in personal worth" (*Ranke*).

*Ah*1. *The Lieutenant of the Tower—i.e.* Sir John Byron. His fault lay in obeying an order of the king which had not emanated from the two Houses alone. The reason that the leading citizens in general, and of London in particular, took so great an interest in the government of the Tower was chiefly on account of their gold and silver bullion kept there.

*Ai*1. *The commanders of the various ports*—and among them Sir John Hotham, who otherwise was well disposed towards King Charles. The Earl of Newcastle had been to Hull in disguise to sound the Major about giving up the place to the king, and Parliament had received intelligence of this. Hull was at this time a magazine of arms for sixteen thousand men. The arms had been bought in Holland by the king, when he contemplated a Scotch war. Parliament asked that the magazine should be brought to the Tower, but this the king absolutely refused to entertain, in spite of which a considerable part was brought to the Tower at the command of Parliament (*Rapin*).

*Ai*2. *The two Houses.*—Carte has instructives notes concerning the degeneracy of the Lords as compared with the old fighting Barons whose power was broken by the Tudors after the Wars of the Roses. Under the Stuarts wealth began to push its claims "as if honours were, of course, to follow riches." Of the fifty persons, English and Scotch, raised by James to the peerage, barely a fourth remained faithful to the Crown during the Civil War.

*Ai*3. *Refuge at Windsor.*—The king had hoped to seize Kingston-on-Thames, where was a large magazine. Here he would have been in touch at once with the Tower, with Portsmouth, and with Hull. The queen, with her father's intuition, would have seized Hull at once, but the Privy Council wished not to force Parliament to extreme measures.

*Aj*1. *The municipality of London.* — The rich citizens of the big towns were envious of the country gentry, whose rank and influence could never be bridged over, even by superior wealth, save through the magic touch of a king's sword; whilst on the other hand they saw their Dutch agents or customers in their newly-born Republic taking a leading part in their country's government. According to Carte, the whole country was prosperous, England's credit the best in Europe, and even gentlemen of large estates were not paying over a pound a year in direct taxation.

*Ak*1. *Charles bereft of his authority.*—Henceforth the divergence of the opinions of Napoleon and Barrow becomes even more pronounced. The former had no good word for Charles and his party, Barrow none for that of the Parliament. After "deprived of the love of his subjects," Barrow has "by the vilest intrigues of malice and calumny" . . . "the hierarch was in the greatest danger of being annihilated by fanaticism," &c.

*Ak*2. *Deprived of the love of his subjects.*—"I believe it rash to affirm that Charles I. was not sincere in his promises. But I believe also his sincerity may be doubted, since he had never opportunity to demonstrate it by effects" (*Rapin*). The fact is, though tardily acknowledged, and never by himself, Charles's best friend was his sword, his worst foe his own pen. He had the grave fault, which often goes with solid talents plus a Scotch extraction, of never writing (and seldom saying) arguments or even plain facts in an unequivocal manner. The king's answer to Parliament's final conditions before the war is an exception: "Should I grant these demands I may be waited on bareheaded; I may have my hand kissed; and *The King's authority, signified by both Houses*, may be the style of your commands; I may have swords and maces carried before me, and please myself with the sight of a crown and sceptre (though even these twigs would not long flourish, when the stock upon which they grew was dead); but as to true and real power, I should remain but the outside, but the picture, but the sign of a king." This was plain commonsense, and the allusions to crown and sceptre approximated to Napoleon's own sarcastic definition of his throne—"a board covered with velvet."

*Ak*3. *If the king raised troops.*—Parliament wished to raise

militia, ostensibly for its own protection, which Charles stoutly refused to sanction, "not even for an hour." On his side the king asks to raise troops (two thousand infantry and two hundred horse) in Cheshire and district, ostensibly for service in Ireland, which Parliament in its turn refused. It added that if he absented himself from England his regents would not be recognised, a condition of affairs which was to become acute in 1688 with regard to his son James. Parliament forthwith passed an Act to enroll the militia.

*Al*1. *Hull.*—Hotham offered to let the king in with a suit of twelve, but Charles stipulated for at least thirty. The munitions of war in Hull were the king's own property, bought from his own funds (two hundred thousand pounds borrowed from his great Lords two years before). Both sides now prepared for war. At York, says Barrow, the king was supported "by all those who had received from nature generous dispositions, whose manners had been polished in society, and whose minds had been cultivated by education." Needless to say, this is not reproduced by Napoleon in 1788. Considering that the king knew Parliament suspected his intentions on Hull, and had sent Hotham, one of their number, to frustrate them, he utterly mismanaged his attempt upon that port, and, according to Carte, was betrayed by one of his own trusted servants, the Earl of Dysart. Judging from future events, however, it is probable that Charles had no reason to anticipate trouble with Hotham, who seems to have been stiffened in the performance of his duty by his brother member Pelham, an Alderman of Hull.

*Am*1. *The Earl of Warwick*—was, like the previous Admiral, the Earl of Northumberland (just disgraced by the king), a nephew of Elizabeth's favourite, as the Earl of Essex was the son. It was against high-church tendencies in general, and foreign influence in particular, that Elizabeth's Essex fought and failed, though he strongly favoured the Stuart succession; it was through men of his blood that the crown, though not the dynasty, that had decreed his destruction, should be itself destroyed. The name of Essex was a name to conjure with in London, while the men of the navy remembered their grandsires and the capture of Cadiz. Had Essex and Warwick failed Parliament at this crisis, we should probably have never heard of Cromwell or The New

Model. Parliament remembered this when it gave Essex his enormous retiring pension of ten thousand pounds a year.

An2. Admiral of the Fleet.—The king felt sure of the navy, and especially of his admiral, Sir John Pennington, and of Goring, governor of Portsmouth. But though he wrote to Pennington, and to each captain in particular, to weigh anchor in the Downs and make for Burlington Bay, the Earl of Warwick had supplanted Pennington and won over his captain before the king's messenger arrived.

An1. The nation.—"On June 17, 1642, the assembly at Westminster, on June 22 that at York, declared the country in danger, and they proceeded to arm against each other. Shortly after, Parliament appointed a Committee of Safety," which on July 12 ordered that an army of twelve thousand men should be formed, and the command given to the Earl of Essex.

An2. Was divided.—Both sides were probably insincere. Parliament borrowed enormous sums at eight per cent., declaring that their design was only to maintain the Protestant religion, *the king's authority and person in his royal dignity*, &c. (*Rapin*). This proved to have been borrowing money under false pretences!

An3. The king and the two Houses.—Never did a man, least of all, a king, receive his baptism of fire (when, like Cromwell, he was over forty years of age) in a worse plight. During the seventeen years of his reign all the expeditions of his captains by land and sea had been failures; now he was forced to give up all the rights of royalty or to fight the Parliament, which through the fleet controlled communication with the Continent, and which had all the military stores with all the ports, save Newcastle—thus commanding the revenue from the Customs, besides the wealth of the great towns and the power of borrowing money on relatively easy terms. Parliament in the trained bands and militia had a large army ready to its hand. When the king at Nottingham had only raised a few hundred men, Essex with a trained army lay at Northampton with six times his force.

An4. The Universities.—They gave their plate to be melted down, as at St. Helena Napoleon parted with his to feed the poor unfortunates who shared his captivity. "In the Civil War, many of the Colleges sent their plate to King Charles,

but town and university without actual conflict came into the obedience of the Commonwealth. In other respects Cambridge has been so fortunate as hardly to possess any history (*Encyclopædia Britannica*)." Cromwell himself was educated at Sidney Sussex College, and was now M.P. for Cambridge. Mr. Frederic Harrison states that Cromwell seized the magazine in the castle of Cambridge and also the plate of the Colleges, the latter being *en route* for the king. With the contents of the former he seems to have armed the townsmen.

*An*5. *Hertford.*—The Marquis of Hertford "equally with the king, descended, by a female, from Henry VII." (*Hume*). In the past reign he had been in disgrace for trying to marry Arabella Stuart; but as Charles's affairs became worse, he had given up a literary life of retirement and rallied to the royal cause.

*An*6. *Jacob Astley.*—"Reputed one of the best major-generals in Europe" (*Ranke*). He had fought under Gustavus (*Firth*).

*Ao*1. *Several places*—including Newcastle, where the war stores bought by Henrietta Maria in Holland soon arrived. She had pawned her own jewels, and some that had belonged to Queen Elizabeth. The raising of the Standard (with its legend "Render unto Cæsar the things which are Cæsar's") at Nottingham on August 22 was rather a failure, and it was Shrewsbury town and district which first furnished an army adequate to oppose that of Essex.

*Ap*1. *Keynton*—Edgehill was, like so many battles, including Waterloo and Paardeberg, fought on a Sunday. The men who saved Essex from defeat were the "London 'prentices, fresh and good firers." The armies on each side were about fourteen thousand strong, but the king's was the more untrained.

*Ap*2. *Slightly the advantage.*—As this is one of Napoleon's first military criticisms, and not to be inferred from his text, it seems desirable to show the material on which the opinion is based. To begin with, the king was largely outnumbered. Sir Faithful Fortescue went over to Prince Rupert with all his troop, and the latter's charge was completely successful. Sir William Balfour (who had seen service in Holland) attacked the king in flank, doing considerable execution. Each side remained on the field,

but the next day Essex retired. Five thousand men lay on the field of battle—the majority cut down in Rupert's charge. Many officers of distinction on the king's side had been made prisoners (*Barrow*). Carte declares that some five thousand men of Essex's army deserted after the battle. Rapin says both sides were worsted, *i.e.* the king dared not now march to London, while Essex retired to Warwick. He quotes Lord Hollis to show that Cromwell on this day kept his troop of horse from the fight, though within some twenty miles of it and well within sound of the artillery. It is as strange that the Grouchy of Edgehill should become the lucky victor of Naseby, as that the officer who lost his regiment in the night outside Seringapatam should be the still more lucky victor at Waterloo. As an example of what primitive warfare was being waged, Hume notes that when the armies began to march they were but twenty miles distant (at Shrewsbury and Worcester), and after tramping ten days without any news of each other they found themselves six miles apart.

*Aq*1. *The king surprised several strongholds.*—On the evidence before him Napoleon is manifestly unjust. After Edgehill the king captured Banbury and Reading and marched on London; Parliament in alarm sought for a pourparler, but Barrow distinctly says that no suspension of arms was agreed to by the king. Essex was strengthening the suburbs, and Prince Rupert seized Aston and Kingston. The apprentices of London were bribed to the Roundhead side by the promise that their war-time should be taken off their indentures.

*Ar*1. 1643—was in fact the Royalist year, just as 1644 was Charles's year as far as the south of England was concerned. After the ubiquitous Rupert, Wilmot at Roundway Down, Sir Raoul Hopton (who had served under the King of Bohemia) at Stratton in Cornwall, and the Earl of Newcastle in the north at Atherton Moor, won the highest honours. If after the capture of Bristol (where many ships and a great magazine of arms were taken) the king had marched on London, Barrow considers he would have won back his kingdom. Rapin, however, strongly approves of the siege of Gloucester, only twenty miles from the newly captured Bristol. With Gloucester Charles would have had the whole of the Severn, and the siege was very nearly

successful. For the second time during the war, the strength of Hull saved the Roundheads this year.

Ar2. The Earl of Essex, &c.—These are all Parliamentary generals, yet at this time those on the other side were quite as good.

Ar3. The Earl of Manchester—formerly Lord Kimbolton. He succeeded his father as earl.

As1. The patriots of Scotland.—Just as the Covenanters at the psychological moment gave backbone to the Puritans, so now the Scotch Presbyterians gave much-needed support, moral and physical, to the drooping spirits of the Parliament party. The Scotch motives were not disinterested ; in fact, their part for a time is a shabby one. They wished, says Barrow, "to share the spoils of the Royalists," and were encouraged by a first instalment of a hundred thousand pounds. Their old general, the Earl of Leven, took command of twenty thousand men. The Scots in those days were to England pretty much what the Colonials are to-day. They were good men of business for peace or war, and always took care to be paid on the higher scale. After their conference, for example, they insisted on equal rights for their Parliament with ours at Westminster!

At1. A Parliament at Oxford—consisting of forty-two lords and a hundred and eighty members of the House of Commons. The Parliament party in the Lords numbered only eleven. The two Houses in London naturally declined to acknowledge the deserters from their own bodies, of which the Oxford Parliament consisted. It was at this time that the London Parliament imposed a general import tax which they called excise. The tax on English plantation tobacco was two shillings a pound, on all other four shillings per pound. The tax on sugar was four-pence per pound, while wine drunk privately was taxed only half as much as that sold publicly.

Au1. This year.—Louis XIII. and Cardinal Richelieu also died, which much improved Henrietta's influence with the Court of France, as her party came into power with that of Queen Anne, now Regent of France.

Au2. The continuation of the war.—Dr. Firth ("Cromwell's Army") shows that the only trained troops in the kingdom when war broke out were the trained bands of London (eighteen

thousand strong), whom the Parliamentary leaders always drew upon after defeat. The lack of such a nucleus for men and money as London was a terrible handicap to Charles. The trained bands of London were as valuable a nucleus to Essex as the six thousand to eight thousand huscarls were to Canute, or as the Scottish archers were to Louis XI. Owing to Parliament's jealousy of the king, and the king's intermittent mistrust of Strafford, it had been impossible for Charles to have an efficient army ready for war. With infinite pains he concentrated all his care on the navy, and that through mismanagement failed him at the critical moment. Napoleon to the last was proud of his early days in the king's army; anecdotes commencing "When I was sub-lieutenant of the Regiment of La Fère," were his favourite mode later of teaching crowned heads to shiver at his dinner parties. Mr. Firth points out that this stiffening of the old Bourbon army was invaluable for the volunteers of the young Republic. The French navy was more loyal to its king; its officers emigrated, were murdered or superseded, with the result that it was henceforth useless as a fighting machine, as neither a Tourville nor a Suffren was now available.

Aug. John Pym.—His last effort had been to win Scotland at the cost of Episcopacy. Just as the lesser kingdom had, forty years earlier, provided England with a king, so the sombre self-satisfaction of the Scotch Covenanters could not resist the bait of being henceforward the dispensers of its religion. "It was the first act," says Ranke, "in which the union of the two kingdoms took effect. What the king and his bishops had failed to accomplish was thus achieved by John Pym and the Presbyterian preachers."

Pym was our first Parliamentary demagogue. A financier by profession, he invented excise and taxed the necessaries of life in order to force an alien religion on a reluctant king; and (partly because there was no one left who dared contradict him) he could always rally the London masses to his side. Ranke calls him one of the greatest revolutionary leaders known to history. Napoleon is just towards him, but saves his enthusiasm for men like Simon de Montfort and the Protector Somerset, who had died in a sterner age to make the success of men like Cromwell and Pym, with the bulk of the two nations behind them, possible.

Au4. Parliament's deliberations—of which their enforcing of the Scotch Covenant was the most notable. Even barristers and physicians had to swear to it, and, best of all for the Parliament, it gave up the estates of all the remaining good Churchmen who were not willing to forswear themselves, to confiscation. Carte estimates that out of the plunder some of the Committee sent as much as a hundred thousand pounds to invest abroad. Even Covenants and Dynamite Monopolies may have points in common.

Av1. Marston Moor.—Parliament had now five armies, three of which (those of Manchester, Fairfax, and the Scots) had converged on York. The battle that ensued about five miles from York was the second vital mistake of the war, the siege of Gloucester in 1643 being the first. For this former defeat Prince Rupert was entirely responsible. He overruled his superior officer, the Marquis of Newcastle, who gave up the command to him as the king's nephew, but who refused to serve except as a volunteer. A reinforcement of five thousand men was on the way to York, but Rupert would not wait, though the enemy had half as many more men than he. Had he done so, the dissensions between the Parliamentary and Scottish forces might have relieved him of the latter enemy. The credit of the victory, as Napoleon points out, was undoubtedly Cromwell's, although it is fair to add that Rupert charged his serried regiments under the disadvantage of a new light squadron formation intended only to attack infantry. Rupert lost six thousand men and all his cannon and ammunition. This, says Ranke, was the decisive moment of the war. Worst of all, the loss of the battle caused the loss of the northern capital and of Newcastle. In disgust at Rupert's foolhardiness the Marquis of Newcastle, one of Charles's finest soldiers, embarked at Scarborough and remained on the Continent till the Restoration.

Av2. Newbury.—Napoleon is always unjust to Charles[1] on the facts as given by Barrow. This second battle of Newbury was remarkably well fought by the king against very superior forces (two to one), and against all the discouragement of Marston Moor. Never, in fact, did Charles as a soldier shine so greatly as

[1] Cromwell himself said that Charles was a man of great parts and great understanding.

in 1644, even after he got news of the loss of the North. This is confirmed by the French Ambassador, and also by his foes, for in December it was stated in Parliament that "a summer's victory has proved but a winter's story." Nevertheless, Marston Moor was the Moscow of the Royalist campaigns, save that the king could in no wise be blamed for it. By the end of 1644 his position was quite as much recovered as that of Napoleon after Bautzen. Both captains, however, knew that the improvement was only apparent. Their officers and soldiers were sick of the war, and the letter to this effect of Wilmot to Essex, hard pressed in Cornwall, probably did Charles more harm than a second Marston Moor. It was of the period between Bautzen and Leipsic that Napoleon was to write, "I felt the reins slipping from my hand, and I could do no more. Nothing but a thunderbolt would have saved us."

*Aw*1. *Laud executed*—also the Hothams, father and son, on a relatively old charge, but really for their sympathy with the king. On January 4, 1645, the Book of Common Prayer and the Liturgy were abolished in favour of the Presbyterian formulary.

The venerable prelate showed his wonted pluck on the scaffold, where he declared that he was suffering "for not forsaking the temple of God, to follow the bleating of Jeroboam's calves," alluding to the formularies of the Presbyterians.

*Ax*1. *The Independents.*—They wished to abolish the dynasty and institute a Republic; the Presbyterians wished merely to restrain the king's prerogative. Their first name was Congregationalists. They called themselves Independents because they refused to be dependent on the Church (*Rapin*).

*Ax*2. *According to the inspiration which he received from God*—"and following his own natural genius" (*Barrow*).

*Ay*1. *The Earl of Manchester and Cromwell.*—The latter accused the Earl of not doing his duty in the second battle of Newbury, while the former retorted that Cromwell had told him that if a man like him (the Earl) would openly and strenuously ally himself to honest men, he would soon have an army stronger than those of King and Parliament combined (*Barrow*).

*Ay*2. *Changes in the militia—i.e.* The New Model, which the Royalists ironically called The New Noddle. The new army had seven thousand horse and fourteen thousand foot. It was mainly

prepared by Cromwell, though Waller and Massey had each shown how necessary a change was. Luckily, with the Scotch alliance, Parliament had now such a superiority in numbers that it could afford to risk experiments. The king had not a man to spare, and when Rupert was preparing a new model for his cavalry he had to meet Cromwell at Naseby with his half-trained squadrons, with the natural result of defeat for his men and ruin to his king.

Infantry was slowly attaining to more importance, and the pikemen (of which there were as many as musketeers) were cheap soldiers. They wore the heavier armour, but their complete outfit cost only about thirty shillings, of which the armour was twenty-two shillings, sword and belt four shillings and sixpence, and pike (sixteen to eighteen feet long) about four shillings. Mr. Firth considers that the value of money was three times what it is to-day. A trooper's horse cost about nine pounds, but a nag costing half that amount was considered good enough for dragoons, who were simply mounted infantry, and without armour, like the musketeers. To show how chivalry was dead a hundred and fifty years before Marie Antoinette, Monk, in his "Observations," advises that six marksmen in each company of infantry should be specially armed with fowling-pieces to pick off the officers (*Firth*). The New Model prided itself on its hedge shooting. The Parliament, having the longer purse and uninterrupted sea communications, soon possessed better and heavier artillery, which by practice became also the better handled.

Ay3. To resign office—i.e. either in the army or in the House. This was the Self-Denying Ordinance, which Cromwell, the chief contriver, was the first to break.

Az1. 1645.—The king believed that Parliament alone was responsible for the execution of Laud, that his share in the guilt of Strafford's death would at last be pardoned, and success would wait upon his arms. This was the year of Montrose's victories, which are entirely ignored by Napoleon.

Az2. Naseby.—For once Rupert advised defence, the king determined to attack. Even the matter-of-fact Ranke adds the tradition that the shade of Strafford visited Charles the same night to dissuade him. The Parliamentary tactics at Naseby were to become favourite ones of Wellington hereafter—lying hid under

the far slope of the hill between them and their enemy. In this battle Charles had rank bad luck, as bad as Napoleon had at Waterloo. Rupert behaved as bravely but as wildly as Ney in the latter battle, but Charles had not a new army to fight at close of day. Owing to a false messenger Parliament knew what Charles did not, viz. that the latter's reinforcements, aggregating more than all his present army, were due any day. This decided Fairfax to fight at once. In actual killed, Fairfax lost more than Charles, who, however, besides prisoners, lost all his ammunition and artillery. All was now over in England. In Scotland, on August 15, Montrose won his last and greatest victory at Kilsyth, but about a month later was totally defeated by Lesley at Philiphaugh.

Az3. Beaten by Cromwell.—General Fairfax was in command, and his helmet being beaten off he fought bareheaded. Six hundred Royalists were killed out of seven thousand five hundred engaged, but of these a hundred and fifty were officers.

Az4. His letters—including the confidential ones to his wife, and her replies. The most compromising were at once published by Parliament, and added fresh dissatisfaction even in the Royalist camp. Rupert's surrender of Bristol (which he had promised to hold for months) was undoubtedly for him an act of policy. He had quarrelled with Digby at Naseby; the honours he had expected Charles could reward him with had melted away, and Parliament, always a better friend to the Palatine family than the king, had begun to talk of giving its Elector the English crown. The quarrel between Digby and Rupert was the final ruin of the Royalist cause.

Az5. Charles, a fugitive. — No words of sympathy from Napoleon. He might have culled from his author, *e.g.* "In the midst of so many dangers he always maintained sound judgment and immovable serenity of soul."

Az6. Then to return to Oxford.—On his way he stayed at Newark Castle and received Rupert, who behaved with as atrocious rudeness to his fallen king and master as Ney at Fontainebleau did to his Emperor in a similar plight.

Az7. Into the hands of the Scots.—Hume calls it a scandalous expedient for obtaining their wager. But Rapin shows that to the Scots and Parliament nothing at this time was less thought of

than the execution of their king. It was the Army as controlled by the Independents that alone made this possible later. To pay the Scots two hundred thousand pounds before they would leave England, Parliament paid eight per cent. to the City of London, giving them as security the receipts of the Grand Excise and the sale of Bishops' lands. The money was raised at once and sent out of London in thirty-six carts. When Charles was informed that he was to be given up to the Scots, such was his serenity and self-control that he calmly continued his game of chess after reading the letters; nor could the bystanders judge whether the news appeared to him good or ill.

There is again no comment from the pupil of Paoli and of Rousseau. Barrow is severe enough, and speaks of the four hundred thousand pounds, which the Scots covenanted for as final largess, as little better than blood-money for the surrender of their king.

*Az*8. *All places.*—Raglan Castle, defended by the Marquis of Worcester (aged eighty-four), was the last to surrender (August 1646).

*Ba*1. *The Scotch gave him up—i.e.* on January 30—a baleful day in the annals of Charles.

*Ba*2. *Cromwell's game.*—"Oliver Cromwell, most indefatigable in projects, of limitless ambition, and impenetrable dissimulation, directed the whole policy of the Independents" (*Barrow*). The death of the Earl of Essex (said to have been poisoned) secured Cromwell from his most formidable enemy.

*Ba*4. *Its own interests.*—At this time a colonel received twelve shillings a day, and two shillings each for four horses; a captain of foot got eight shillings, and sergeants, corporals, and drummers a shilling a day. As many of the Roundhead officers were tradesmen, they were very loth to change cuirass for apron, even if their armour was of that weighty kind that earned one of their early regiments the soubriquet of Lobsters.

*Ba*5. *The Engagement—i.e.* having selected from among themselves a General Council, the army swore to obey it.

*Bb*1. *Raised by taxes.*—Nothing is so wasteful as civil war, except perhaps protracted but ill-considered experiments with a nation's food supply. Barrow said that the Parliament party had "extended taxation even to butcher's meat and on all com-

modities of prime necessity." No wonder the people were barely a dozen years in getting sick of the Commonwealth. Between 1645 and 1649 corn doubled in value. The soldiers of the Parliament were always in want of their pay. When Cromwell's time came their pay was his first and constant consideration.

*Bc*1. *Hammond.*—He had on Cromwell's advice married John Hampden's daughter. Rapin seems to think that Cromwell[1] connived at the escape, knowing that Charles would be safe in Hampshire, and farther away from the Scotch Commissioners and the Presbyterians. Ashburnham, the king's confidant, had probably himself been hoodwinked by Cromwell's spies as to the ship that would be waiting off the Hampshire coast. Carte says that Ashburnham, with the best intentions, had been Cromwell's dupe throughout. The former, it is charitable to presume, thought Robert Hammond, being nephew to Dr. Henry Hammond, the king's favourite chaplain, would use the king honourably. But in 1644 Hammond had killed a brother-officer in a duel, and these were days when duelling was a great crime, and old charges were brought up by Parliament on the least provocation.

*Bc*2. *No address or message should be sent to the king*—(January 3, 1648). The offence was made high-treason. "The king was virtually excluded from his kingdom" (*Ranke*). At this juncture, prior to the "second civil war," the Government was, as a contemporary said, "an oligarchy with dictatorial power." This was practically Napoleon's definition of the English Constitution in his day from the days of the Empire to his death, and we are only just beginning to realise that he was right.

*Bc*3. *The Scotch.*—The Commissioners had early recognised the dangerous position that was being established by the predominance of the Independents, and prior to the king's being cut off from his subjects by the new enactment, they had concluded a secret treaty with him which gave him all that Parliament denied. Scotland backed up its Commissioners. They had been very sensitive to the stigma of reproach which European

[1] Cromwell's first letter to Hammond (Carlyle's No. 52) is dated January 3, some six weeks after the seizure of Charles, and begins: "Dear Robin, now, blessed be God, I can write and now receive freely." A sentence which might be "significant enough."

opinion had stamped upon the paper whereby they had given up their king; and now that that agreement was being broken to the king's hurt, indignation rose to fever heat, as usual, with those who are partly themselves to blame for a catastrophe. They insisted that the king should negotiate with his Parliament "in freedom, safety, and honour," and that Lord Fairfax's army should be disbanded.

*Bc*4. *Part of the fleet*—anchored in the Downs, mutineered from their commander Rainsborough, and sailed to Brill. Young Charles came from Paris and took command, and was burning to fight the squadron of the Earl of Warwick when the wind parted them. The Royalists at this time seized Pontefract, and Scarborough Castle once more declared for the king. After the defeat of the Scots, the zeal of the Navy for the king's cause subsided. Had it occurred earlier it would have made a great difference, for, as Ranke says, its desertion had chiefly occasioned Charles's misfortunes.

*Bd*1. *Part of Hamilton's troops.*—It was in this campaign that Cromwell won his position as a commander in the field. Hamilton was a poor opponent, but he had good cavalry and a larger army, and Cromwell's men had been roughly handled in Wales; but on three successive days Cromwell and Lambert were stronger, even in numbers, at the point of attack.

*Be*1. *The Presbyterian Worship.*—In Napoleon's time the best reasons for Episcopacy, and those which probably effected Charles's invincible repugnance to the abolition of bishops, were those given by Hume without bias: "The hierarchy had been established in England ever since the Reformation: the Romish Church, in all ages, had carefully maintained that form of ecclesiastical government, the ancient fathers, too, bore testimony to Episcopal jurisdiction; and though parity may seem at first to have had place among Christian pastors, the period during which it prevailed was so short that few undisputed traces of it remained in history." Napoleon, a true Latin, never sympathised with Christianity in its Protestant variety—a species which, as has been well pointed out, is a plant that flourishes solely in Teuton soils. In the height of his power he used the same scale for prelates as for more terrestrial policemen, and it doubtless gave him more pleasure to make Talleyrand marry his

mistress than to make Fouché disgorge his ill-gotten gains. A good divine who left politics alone always won his commendation and respect.

*Be*2. *Retarded their passing.*—As a matter of fact, the preliminaries of agreement had been accepted and passed by Parliament (December 4, 1648) the moment they heard of the Army party removing Charles to Hurst Castle.

*Bf*1. *Refused to sign the Bill of Proscription.*—Nor would he agree to the abolition of the Episcopate, though he agreed that it might be reduced to its primitive condition, and that Archbishops, Deans, Chapters, and the whole hierarchy, except Bishops, should be excluded. His conscience forbade him to agree to the sale of Church lands. On these points Parliament insisted ; whereupon Barrow bursts forth : "Is it possible not to feel filled with indignation when considering the insolence and obstinacy of these plebeians ?"

*Bf*2. *His dearest friends.*—Parliament and the king finally agreed to various degrees of fines, varying from half to a quarter of their estates on all of the king's adherents except seven, viz. Lord Digby, Sir Marmaduke Langdale, Sir Richard Grenville, Judge Jenkins, Sir Francis Doddington, Sir George Radcliffe, and Lord Byron. The Conference at Newport had now lasted a month. Charles knew that Cromwell had been everywhere victorious, and was hurrying back to London, and that his affairs would be much more desperate in the hands of the General and the Army. Had Charles given way about the Bishops, his seven friends, and his wife's right to toleration in her religion, he could have been reinstated with compensation for all the legal rights he was giving up. At this supreme hour he remembered Strafford, and preferred to sacrifice himself. The very existence of the Church of England was at stake. What Becket boasted of, Charles did without boasting, *i.e.* "in his person Christ was tried by a lay tribunal and crucified a second time." Rapin, with his usual impartiality, shows how Parliament was wise in wishing to root out Episcopacy (with the precedent of its revival in Scotland under James I.). They consented finally to agree to the king's views as a basis, but before the Treaty could be signed Cromwell and Colonel Pride[1] arrived, and forty-one members

[1] Formerly a drayman.

were arrested. Hence the Independent (*i.e.* the Army) party ruled the House.

Bf3. The army—still forty thousand strong. According to Ranke, Charles and Parliament were by this time practically in accord, and the latter ignored the blusterings of Cromwell and his men till "it was recklessly checked by the power of the sword." Ranke, in describing the trial and death of the king (last ten pages, Vol. II.), throws a clear white light on the weak spots on both sides that ought in some way to be reflected at least once on the mind of every schoolboy in England.

Bg1. The Isle of Wight.—Hammond, who had commenced by being kind and lenient, ended, under orders, with harshness and severity. He began as an Admiral Cockburn, and fell halfway to the level of a Hudson Lowe. Charles was at first allowed to ride over the island alone; later he was confined to the castle, and his confidential servants removed. But, after all, these severities were incurred by the king's attempts at escape, nor was the Isle of Wight St. Helena. After the Newport Conference, when the Army was supreme, Charles might have escaped; but he had now given his word to the Parliament not to attempt it, and he kept his word, though the Parliament to which he had sworn had now been superseded by a stronger, and a hostile, force.

Bg2. Hurst Castle.—A damp and unhealthy fort on Southampton Water. Built by Henry VIII. from the ruins of Beaulieu Abbey.

Bg3. Ninety.—Ranke says ninety-six, of whom forty-six were arrested. The city at the same time was terrorised, and mulcted of heavy contributions.

Bg4. Colonel Harrison.—Son of a butcher (*Barrow*).

Bh1. Ireton.—"A man who, having grafted the soldier on the lawyer, the statesman on the saint, had adopted such principles as were fitted to introduce the severest tyranny, while they seemed to encourage the most unbounded license in human society" (*Hume*).

Bh2. The House of Lords—had only now sixteen peers, but these were unanimous against the trial of the king. Even the Earl of Northumberland said that not one-twentieth of the inhabitants of the country were convinced who began the Civil War.

*Bi*1. *The people cried Justice! Execution!*—As Charles left the Court they, incited by their chiefs, behaved atrociously. Some spat in his face, while others puffed tobacco, to which he had an unconquerable aversion, inherited from his father. "The poor creatures!" said Charles, "for a little money they would use their Captains the same."

*Bi*2. *Was condemned—i.e.* by Bradshaw, supported by seventy-two Commissioners, who stood up to signify their concurrence (*Carte*).

*Bj*1. *This monarch.*—Carte has various details about the king's temperate habits. Owing to these, though weakly from a child, he was never ill through the whole war, "never even an indigestion"; he abstained from strong sauces, commenced his main meal with a glass of small-beer, followed by two of claret and water, and never drank between meals—"never tasting pure wine except when he ate venison." Napoleon, as we know, preferred his Chambertin with water.

Charles was always a good man, but wise only in adversity, when away from his advisers, and especially from his wife. Henrietta made the mistake of comparing France to England, her father to her husband—and perhaps herself to her kinswoman, Catherine de Medicis, the arch-diplomat of France in rebellion for thirty years, and the inventor of the policy of "*la bascule*." Possibly her last comparison would, *ceteris paribus*, have held good. Though not so brilliant a leader as the conqueror of Ivry, Charles, like the Huguenots, was never disheartened by defeat. But when Henry III. was driven from Paris and assassinated, France had already endured some thirty years of civil war, and Charles would not win London at the cost of all that was vital in the established religion of his realm. Calvinism never had been the established religion of France, and Henry IV. was not the sort of man to let scruples respecting any creed baulk him of a kingdom in this world. Charles inherited from his father a strong hatred of Calvinism in its English or Scotch dress, and his favouring of ritual and repression of nonconformity of all kinds united against him sects that otherwise might have burnt themselves out in the mutual fires of their own frenzy. This in fact would have happened between the Scots, the English Presbyterians, and the Independents in 1648, had not the

Royalists, by their besetting sin of impetuosity, reunited the three rivals for the spoil.

Rapin, speaking of Charles, says quaintly, "Sincerity was not his favourite virtue," but after the first great mistake of his life, that blunder of Strafford's execution, which, like that of the Duc d'Enghien, was more unpardonable than a crime (and which in each case had the Adam-like excuse of temptation listened to), he made ample reparation. The people's inherent loyalty to the legitimate heir of a long line of kings stood Charles in good stead almost to the end, and his son after him. This was what Napoleon lacked in 1814 and 1815 when his star grew pale. It was the difference between radium and the electric spark; the latter exists only while recharged with its light-giving properties: the former glows *sua sponte*, the quintessence of perhaps a hundred previous forces. Had Charles escaped from Carisbrooke in 1648 he would have been as formidable as ever, perhaps more so; after Marmont's surrender, and after Waterloo, Napoleon could only say that had he been his own son he could have successfully continued the war. Napoleon, as he said himself, "knew men," and that "imagination ruled the world": an English contemporary grasped part of his meaning when he said "Antiquity! thou wondrous charm, what art thou? thou being nothing, art everything."[1] Napoleon to the end thought badly of Charles, and told Gourgaud in 1817 that the king "had richly deserved his fate for having waged civil war on his people for five years. He lacked good faith, and wished to become an absolute monarch." Both in 1814 and in 1815 after Waterloo, Napoleon was tempted to stir up the republican feeling among the people, and carry on war behind the Loire till the Allies should quarrel among themselves. But having seen the miseries of civil war, he would not risk it. Charles, like Napoleon, is accused of being rude[2] in his conversation with ladies. During her husband's captivity Henrietta, like Marie Louise, seems to have found criminal consolation elsewhere.

Bj2. Was executed. — Nearly three years earlier he had written to Lord Digby, that if he could not live as a king he

[1] "Essays of Elia."

[2] In Charles's case *rude* is much too mild a word.

would at least die like a gentleman, and he kept his word. Even the judicious Ranke says that there "was certainly something of the martyr in him, if the man can be so called who values his own life less than the cause for which he is fighting, and, in perishing himself, saves it for the future."

Bj3. The park—i.e. St. James's.

NOTES TO THE REPUBLIC

"The sea's our own; and now all nations greet
With bending sails, each vessel of our fleet;
Your power extends as far as winds can blow,
Or swelling sails upon the globe may go.

Heaven, that hath placed this island to give law
To balance Europe, and its states to awe,
In this conjunction doth on Britain smile,
The greatest leader, and the greatest isle!"
—WALLER's "Panegyric to my Lord Protector."

*A*1. *A Republic*—our division of reigns. Barrow, like Carte, begins the reign of Charles II. at this time—in fact earlier. Rapin calls the period The Interregnum. For a student of foreign history, using apparently the best book available for him, to ignore the name of Charles II. at this juncture shows how strong must have been his republican feelings in 1788.

*A*2. *By the People's representatives.*—Barrow adds *only*, king and lords being excluded as "a useless and dangerous body."

"The idea of the sovereignty of the people was not embraced in England with the enthusiasm that it afterwards evoked in another nation" (*Ranke*).

*A*3. *The Great Seal.*—The arms of England and Ireland (viz. a red cross and harp) were on one side of it.

*A*4. 1648.—From this moment the Commonwealth was virtually in existence.

*A*5. *Preservers of Liberty.*—Preservers of the liberties of England—"Custodes libertatis Angliæ, authoritate parliamenti" (*Barrow*).

*B*1. *Ormonde.*—Ranke says, "dreaded the money, even more than the arms, of Parliament, and its influence on the Irish."

Even the unemotional German historian expresses horror at the thousand men burnt alive in the catholic church at Drogheda.

Ormonde had made a fair start, but was outnumbered. Napoleon ignores the fate of the poor Marquis of Montrose, whom Barrow calls the best hero of his age, and of whose cruel fate he gives full details. Barrow draws an amusing picture of poor Charles in the hands of Argyll, compelled to listen to long sermons from rigid Presbyterians (six in one day without intermission!), whose favourite subject of discussion was either the tyranny of his late father, the idolatry of his mother, or his own vicious disposition.

*C*1. *He defeated the Scotch army.*—Barrow shows that the success was entirely due to the English fleet. Without command of the sea Cromwell could never have made the campaign, as the Scotch had made the land between Berwick and Edinburgh a desert. When Cromwell got near to Lesley, he dared not attack him, and, after weeks of waiting, retired, with his army reduced by one third. It was only at Dunbar that the pursuing Scotch army (safe on Lammermuir, and holding the passes) preferred to take promises of victory from the Poundtexts and Rumbleberrys who infested the camp (and who had even turned away thousands of good troops as "malignants") to the cautious advice of their wise old General. They determined to fight, and were hopelessly beaten. Charles, who hated the Covenanters, was secretly pleased at the disaster.

*C*2. *Eight thousand.*—Barrow says seven or eight thousand, besides three thousand killed and twenty-seven guns lost. Cromwell lost but two officers and twenty men.

*D*1. 1651.—From the time Cromwell took the field anew, Charles had bad luck, and his invasion of England, with Cromwell only a few days behind him, was a mad thing to do. Compared to his father, he was a poor soldier. As a fugitive, his own charming manners stood him in good stead. Barrow gives ten pages to Boscobel, the oak and the hay-loft, the pillion ride with Miss Lane into Bristol, and further adventures, until the final escape to Normandy. Charles, dating from Worcester, had left his life in the hands of fifty different men and women, and, in spite of the reward, none betrayed him—though one of his horses nearly did, having last been shod in northern parts. Under the

date of this year, Barrow records the capture of Jersey and Barbadoes, also St. Christopher and Nevis, by the English.

Ranke points out that, had the popularity of the Commonwealth been universal, Charles could never have escaped.

D2. He defeated.—The fact that Cromwell struck the decisive blow in the three countries, and secured the victory for the Commonwealth, gives him an importance for Great Britain which secures him an imperishable memory, whatever judgments may be passed upon his personal services and qualities (*Ranke*).

D3. Worcester.—Two thousand of the Scots were killed in the battle.

D4. Eight thousand men prisoners.—These (mainly Scots) "were sold in London as slaves to the American Colonies," *i.e.* the West Indies.

E1. Where they have been kept.—After the Restoration the records were sent back by sea, but the ship was lost (*Rapin*).

F1. Justice was impartially rendered—In Scotland "by the care and caution of General Monk, who commanded the Scottish troops" (*Barrow*). The Jews were favoured, and allowed to build a synagogue. They had proved useful in acting as spies on the Spaniards, and at one time thought Cromwell might prove to be the Messiah. As with Napoleon, they were always prepared to pay handsomely for good treatment.

F2. The inhabitants devoted themselves to the arts.—"The people, finding themselves well protected and assured of their own belongings, gave themselves up to the industrial arts, and, under this usurping government, were happier and better off than their ancestors had ever been" (*Barrow*). While the people were cultivating the arts of the soil, the magnificent collection of pictures and sculpture belonging to Charles I. had been sold off at most inadequate prices. "A train of eighteen mules conveyed the purchased works of art from Corunna to Madrid. Spoliation seized even upon the church bells, which were recast into cannon for the Dutch War" (*Ranke*). Cromwell seized the MSS. of Harrington's *Oceana*, but the author recovered it, partly through pretending to kidnap Lady Claypole's three-year-old daughter till his own brain-child was restored.

F3. Admiral Blake.—He wished to fight Prince Rupert in

sight of Lisbon, but the King of Portugal forbade it. In revenge Blake captured twenty richly-laden Portuguese ships.

F4. Pursued.—"For the first time since the days of the Plantagenets, an English fleet was seen in the Mediterranean" (*Ranke*).

F5. Prince Rupert—had hoped to make an impregnable Venice of his base, St. Mary's, Scilly.

From Lisbon he sailed to the West Indies, where his brother Maurice and his ship were lost in a storm. He came back laden with the spoils of Spain (*Barrow*), which, together with his fleet, were sold by Charles to Cardinal Mazarin when Rupert regained France in 1654.

F6. Ireton died—of the plague at Limerick. "Cruel, ferocious, inflexible—the most implacable enemy of monarchical England" (*Barrow*).

F7. Became respected.—Rapin points out that a civil war, unlike a foreign war, involves displacement of capital rather than actual national loss—the rich became poor and the poor rich. Also in 1652 the country, owing to a long peace, was swarming with people. The navy remained intact, and as powerful as Charles had made it. Still, judging by results abroad, Rapin gives the correct view: "James I. and Charles I. seemed to have studied to disgrace the English name, whereas Cromwell in the space of four or five years carried the glory of his nation as far as possible, and in that respect was not inferior to Elizabeth. He made himself equally dreaded by France and Spain and the United Provinces."

F8. All the European Powers.—A few pages back in his author, and therefore quoted from memory. Barrow says "all the European princes again sought its friendship." The Protector's foreign policy forms one of Macaulay's "big bow-wow" paragraphs towards the end of his first chapter. He shows how much Cromwell had to gain from a general European religious war, and concludes, "Unhappily for him, he had no opportunity of displaying his admirable military talents, except against the inhabitants of the British Isles."

G1. The Dutch.—Barrow considers we had no fair ground to go to war with Holland. Anyhow the Navigation Act forced it—the carrying trade being the pivot of Dutch prosperity. It

was a smart move of Cromwell's, and "made England signify somewhat," but, like most smart moves, has left a dangerous precedent for other countries to follow when they get a favourable opportunity.

Of the Navigation Act Ranke says, that of all the Acts ever passed in Parliament it is perhaps the one which brought about the most important results for England and the world. Henceforth *our* future lies upon the water.

One of the English men-of-war met some Dutch fishermen, and demanded the tenth herring in token of our sovereignty of the sea. The Dutch refused and we sank one of their ships. War resulted.

G2. The first on whom war was declared.—"The wide extent of the Dutch trade gave at the outset a great advantage to the English. Everywhere, in the Baltic and in the Sound, on the coasts of Portugal, on the routes to the East Indies or to America, even in the Mediterranean, numberless Dutch trading vessels were captured. They are estimated at more than a thousand; so that business in Amsterdam came for a time to a standstill" (*Ranke*).

H1. With forty ships.—Barrow says forty-two.

H2. Plus eight.—A reinforcement under Captain Bourne. A page or two later Barrow narrates that Blake with forty ships hastened off to the Shetlands to destroy the Dutch fishing fleet there. Tromp followed him. (The fishing fleet in those days consisted of the "herring busses.")

H3. Ruyter.—Witt and Ruyter (*Barrow*).

H4. Seventy ships—Seventy-seven. Blake was inferior, but fought from dusk to dark of a November day. "Blake was wounded, two of his vessels taken, as many burnt, one sunk, and without night, which came very opportunely, he would have lost all his squadron" (*Barrow*). Tromp was fighting his way back to the Isle of Rhé, to convoy home Dutch treasure-ships. Barrow here adds the story of Tromp hoisting a broom to show that he would clear the Channel.

H5. Blake and Monk.—The English lost no time. Monk was sent for from Scotland to help Blake, while Ruyter had joined Tromp. The latter was convoying three hundred ships from the Isle of Rhé.

H6. An honourable retreat.—The Dutch got their convoy away in safety except thirty ships. They lost eleven men-of-war, two thousand killed and fourteen hundred prisoners. The English fleet was itself in a bad plight.

H7. The extraordinary revolution.—The country was sick of the Rump Parliament, but they wished before dissolving to make it impossible in future for active army officers to be Members of Parliament. Cromwell's miserable cant in dragging his Creator's name in every time he wished to feed his already over-swollen pride, sickened Barrow and disgusts even Napoleon. "I have begged the Lord night and day to take away my life rather than charge me with this task." This was the fourth time in one morning that he had invoked his God in getting rid of the friends who had made him, and were doing the country good service. It is high time, as Mr. Strachey[1] says, that we had a new life of Cromwell—but it should be an antidote to Carlyle first and foremost! The beautiful letter of Cromwell to Colonel Walton, quoted by Mr. Strachey, almost made the present writer a Cromwellian, till he remembered that the Third Commandment was for Cromwell, like the Self-Denying Ordinance, an enactment which he alone could safely break at will. But, as Macaulay says, "even those who pronounce him a hyprocrite will scarcely venture to call him a fool." Cromwell's piety was a pawn which always queened. It was, however, a good thing for him and his three hundred warriors that the plastic Monk had been taken from Scotland and put in part command of the fleet at this juncture.

H8. National government.—The Long Parliament was on the eve of passing an Election Bill which would have insured seats in the next Parliament for most of them, and which would leave the power of election in the hands of the middle classes. Blake told the captains of his squadron that it was not their business to interfere in State matters; their duty was simply not to be beaten by the enemy. It was a good thing probably for Cromwell that the Dutch kept them fully engaged.

I1. Millenarians.—The stronger party, also called Fifth Monarchy men. Dating from Tertullian and the second century, a belief that the four great nations, Assyria, Persia,

[1] "From Grave to Gay—Oliver Cromwell."

Greece, and Rome, should be finally followed by a greater one, is plausible exegesis from holy writ; but Cromwell went farther, and stated it to be the duty of his party to establish forthwith such a monarchy *by force*. After Cromwell's death they gave trouble, as might have been expected.

"The great institutions of the State and the Church they regarded as the creation of the Fourth Monarchy, which were therefore destined to perish" (*Ranke*).

12. All magisterial distinctions should be abolished—"Except the authority acquired by superior piety and holiness" (*Barrow*) —a most useful saving clause.

13. Hoped—asserted (*Barrow*).

14. The Deists—hated by Cromwell, who called them, from their ideas of absolute liberty, "the heathens."

11. A hundred and forty—One hundred forty and four. The Biblical subtilties of Cromwell would not appeal to the young student of 1788, or prevent his favourite method of taking round figures.

12. With the title of a Parliament—i.e. The Little or Barebones' Parliament. "Cromwell chose the Members himself, who were all of the lowest extraction, and besides so ignorant and inexperienced in public affairs that he shrewdly foresaw that they would soon be obliged to give up an administration of which they were incapable of bearing the burden. Yet they commenced the exercise of their functions by deliberating on abolition of clergy, tithes, universities, and the Court of Chancery and Common Pleas, and their idea was to substitute for it the Mosaic institution. The fanatics of this age seemed singularly attached to the Old Testament, from which they borrowed the names that they gave their children. The names of James and John, Peter and Andrew, were rejected for those of Hezekiah or Habakkuk, Joshua and Zerubbabel" (*Barrow*).

Hume, unlike Rapin, and possibly Barrow, had read the unexpurgated Whitelocke. He follows Barrow, but admits there were a few men of the rank of gentlemen. Hallam points out that in a revolution even wise men often become *nolens volens* the puppets of the victorious mob. Carlyle enthusiastically dubs it "rather a distinguished Parliament," and waxes furious with "envious stupidities" in general, and

"ignorant historians" in particular. But when a Committee of the House is formed to frame a new National Code of Laws, with Moses for their sole text-book and legal expert, criticism, even when blended with amazement, becomes unavoidable.

*K*1. *Tromp attacks.*—Barrow has *attacked*. Napoleon generally bursts into the historic present when anything interesting turns up. The magnificent sea-fights are the redeeming feature of this period. During this battle, which began on the 2nd June, the English were reinforced by Blake and eighteen ships.

*K*2. *Deane*—Robert Deane was a good type of the amphibious warrior of this period. Having fought at Naseby and Worcester, he was henceforward a "general at sea." This battle of Portland occurred in February, and he was killed a few months later in the battle off Solebay.

*K*3. *A musket-ball*—as he was striding his deck, sword in hand, himself the bravest of the brave.

*L*1. *The day arrived when Parliament.*—It was about this time that in the streets of London a "scandalous ballad" was sold and sung with the refrain "Twelve Parliament men for a penny." The printer was imprisoned by Cromwell. The story is in the Clarke Papers (vol. iii.).

*L*2. *Owning its own unworthiness, resigned.*—Cromwell, seeing that the farce had gone far enough, utilised his chief adherents to put an end to it. "But General Harrison, who had remained in the House with about twenty other enthusiasts, put a man called Moyer in the chair, so that the reign of the Saints should not be interrupted; and they were beginning to protest against the action of their brother members, when Colonel White entered with a detachment of soldiers and asked them what they were doing in the House. They replied that they were contemplating the Lord. "Very well, then," replied the Colonel, "you can look for Him outside, for to my certain knowledge His Spirit has not resided here for many years" (*Barrow*). (Hume naturally has unearthed this story, but neither Rapin nor Carte.)

*M*1. *Parliament.*—None of Cromwell's first three Parliaments were to his liking, and after dismissing the one of 1654 he had the mortification of himself having to levy taxes without Parliamentary sanction. Not only had the prime mover in the matter

of the Self-Denying Ordinance eluded from the first its commands; but the man who had destroyed monarchy because it insisted on immemorial rights to enjoy an income outside the dispensations of Parliament, found himself continually acting without the shadow of constitutional rights or precedent. "We find men of the highest rank conveyed without resistance, and under a slight guard only, to their appointed places of custody. How persistent had been the resistance offered in the case of Charles I. to the right of imprisonment! We remember what efforts were required to force him to concede that on every warrant the reasons for it should also be stated. Cromwell's warrants were not countersigned, nor was any reason given: they were everywhere punctually obeyed" (*Ranke*).

*M*2. *Cromwell Protector.*—Under this heading Barrow begins a new chapter. His position nominally seems to have been no better than it was before, and the nation was already contemplating with anxiety the great problem of his successor.

*N*1. *In favour of England.*—The Dutch agreed again to strike to the English flag as they had done in the time of Charles I., to restore the island of Poleron in the East Indies to the East India Company (captured in the reign of James I.), and to pay a heavy fine of three hundred thousand pounds for the Amboyna outrage of 1622, of which the East India Company was to have eighty-five thousand pounds. (It is worth noting that ship-money, which had caused the Civil War, had enabled Charles to build a navy, the size of whose ships made victory against the smaller Dutchmen almost a certainty for the Commonwealth.)

*N*2. *Pantaleon Sa.*—Knight of Malta. He met a Colonel Gerard, who insulted him, and the next day, seeking him on the New Exchange, found a man whom he thought to be the colonel and killed him. A tumult ensued, and other people were injured. Cromwell insisted on the ambassador giving up his brother, and the Don got his full deserts.

*O*1. *The Archbishop.*—probably a misreading. Barrow says M. de Bordeaux only, and Carte has M. de Bordeaux Neufville.

*O*2. *As Ambassador.*—He was escorted by sixty coaches through the London streets. This was a great mortification to

Charles, who henceforth lived at Cologne. By the death of the Prince of Orange a few years before, Charles had lost his best friend.

*P*1. *Penn captured Jamaica.*—He had been sent with a fleet bearing General Venables and five thousand soldiers to take San Domingo. Venables failed and was driven back to the ships. They had little trouble with Jamaica, which Cromwell himself evidently thought of no value, for, as Barrow adds, "he put them both into prison on their return for their ill-success." To Cromwell's raids the King of Spain retaliated by ordering all English property within his Empire to be confiscated. It is about this time Barrow tells the story of the eleven provinces under the rule of the eleven major-generals, but Napoleon evidently considers it not worth recording.

Penn, like Blake, did not enjoy Cromwell's full confidence. Commissary Britten was sent on the San Domingo expedition with Penn and Venables—probably as informer against them to the Protector.

*Q*1. 1656.—Hazlitt compares an incident of Cromwell of this year with one experienced by the First Consul, which shows that neither of them would have surpassed Phaethon as charioteer. The Duke of Oldenburg had sent Cromwell for his chariot six Friesland horses, remarkable for beauty and swiftness, which the Protector himself, "not doubting," adds Ludlow, "that they would prove as tame as the three nations that were ridden by him," tried to drive round Hyde Park. The horses mastered him, and he fell over the pole, the pistol in his pocket going off as he fell. He was practically uninjured. It was in the park at St. Cloud that Napoleon tried to drive his wife and other friends in a calash and four. In going through the park gates at full gallop a wheel caught one of the posts, and Napoleon was thrown out and lost consciousness.

*Q*2. *Blake.*—Till over fifty years of age he had been a general only. Luckily superannuation in the navy was unknown in those days. Monk and Prince Rupert are other amphibious heroes of the period.

*Q*3. *The Spanish galleons.*—Over a million sterling in silver was captured, and at once minted at the Tower, thus saving further subsidies for the Spanish war.

*R*1. 1657.—Napoleon makes no note of Cromwell rejecting the crown. Years earlier there had been papers handed round for signature in the merchant quarters of London asking Cromwell to be king or emperor, but they had not met with a good reception, and Cromwell himself ordered their destruction (*Clarke Papers*). A majority in Parliament of two to one in his favour was a different thing. Ranke, however, points out that not only the army, but the navy and the old Republicans were against Cromwell becoming king. Even his own undecemvirate of major-generals helped to muzzle him. Feeling the insecurity of calling up fresh Parliaments who always ended by giving him trouble, Cromwell now brings into being a new House of Lords, consisting mainly of his generals and relations, and the great lawyers. The Commons resented this, and Cromwell's severest critic was his old comrade Hazlerigg. The Protector found himself compelled to dissolve his Parliament.

*R*2. *Dunkirk.*—Defended by Condé, commanding the Spanish troops. Turenne had the English detachment under Lockhart which rendered so good an account of themselves.

*S*1. *The Protector.*—"In spite of a continued tide of success, Cromwell had become a most miserable man. He saw that he was hated by almost every party in the kingdom; plots and conspiracies against his life and his government had been formed; he knew the violent character of those fanatics of whose frenzy he had himself so often made use, and he was ceaselessly tormented by the fear of assassination. He wore a suit of armour under his clothes and always had a pistol in his pocket. He never slept three nights running in the same room," &c. (*Barrow*). At St. Helena Napoleon declared he did not believe the story about Cromwell's wearing armour under his clothes. He had been accused of the same thing, and it was all nonsense. Guizot notes that the ruler against whom killing had been declared to be "no murder," never found himself face to face with an assassin. Had there been an infernal machine to try *his* nerves, more than one of the Stuarts would have paid the penalty with his life, for in 1654 Cromwell declared that "assassinations were such detestable things that he would never begin them; but if any of the king's party should endeavour to assassinate him, and fail in it, he would make an assassinating war of it, and destroy the whole

family ; and he asserted he had instruments to execute it whenever he should give order for it."

S2. A frightful tempest. — The same thing happened at St. Helena during Napoleon's last hours, when his favourite willow-tree is said to have been torn up by the roots. In both cases the storm took place the night before death occurred (see *Ranke* and *Hazlitt*).

S3. A respectable Huntingdonshire family.—An occasional scion of the races that produced Mary of Scotland and Thomas the "mauler of monasteries" might well prove to be an interesting personality. In a posthumous work, Carlyle explodes in select splutters from his raucous repertoire as to the inestimable value of some Boswellian eavesdropper, "with ass-skin and black-lead," when Mr. Hampden and Cousin Oliver were jogging over muddy highways to London. "What fraction of the Bodleian Library, or all manner of libraries, wouldst thou not have been disposed to give"—for the said droppings. Compared to such "what intrinsic worth to thee the seven hundred and fifty-three still extant portraits of Charles I. ? A bad world, my masters." Yet both in the case of Cromwell and in that of Sir Philip Sidney we could well spare some of their correspondence and much of the contemporary hero-worship to know more of the parents and less of the prodigies. Sir Henry Sidney and old Lady Cromwell seem to have been two of the most charming personalities of their respective centuries. In 1654 the mother of Cromwell died in her ninetieth year. Here is her last blessing to her son : "My dear son, I leave my heart with thee. A good night."

S4. A libertine.—"He passed the first years of his manhood in debauchery and play" (*Barrow*).

S5. A prophet.—"His house was changed into a conventicle, and he soon squandered his fortune by the various expenses which his hospitality to his co-sectaries brought upon him" (*Barrow*).

His physician said that at one time his patient had fancies about the town cross. On another occasion, lying melancholy in bed in the day-time, he saw a spirit who told him he should be the greatest man in the kingdom. His uncle, Sir Thomas Stewart, "who left all the little estate Cromwell had," told him such a story was traitorous to relate. Prebendary Harris (com-

mended by Smyth and Carlyle and quoted by Hallam), adds another story of Oliver St. John's that in later days Cromwell, being at table and looking for the cork of a bottle of champagne he had just opened, was informed that some person attended for admittance to see him. "Tell him," said the great man, "we are in search of the holy spirit."

86. *Deceitful.*—"His success developed his vices," says Barrow, whom Napoleon follows very closely in the description, "and soon the first principles of republican equality yielded to the devouring flame of his ambition, and after having tasted the sweets of boundless power, he aspired to the sovereignty." The parallel here with the future First Consul would be almost complete, save in the all-powerful point that Napoleon was thrice elected by the whole French nation, by a practically unanimous vote, whereas Cromwell knew that beyond the army his chances were nowhere. Hallam has an interesting parallel of Cromwell and Napoleon. At the first he admits the poverty of the comparison with one "for whose genius and ambition all Europe seemed the appointed quarry." He points out that as a legislator and ameliorator of social institutions, Cromwell was hopelessly deficient for purposes of comparison. Both were "quick in passion but not vindictive, and averse to unnecessary crimes." Napoleon at St. Helena gave Las Cases an interesting analysis of what he considered divergent points in the respective characters of himself and Cromwell :—

"As every comparison with Cromwell is in some degree odious, I must add that, if these two celebrated men coincided in one single circumstance of their lives, it was scarcely possible for two beings to differ more in every other point.

"Cromwell appeared on the theatre of the world at the age of maturity. He attained supreme rank only by dint of address, duplicity, and hypocrisy.

"Napoleon distinguished himself at the very dawn of manhood, and his first steps were attended by the purest glory.

"Cromwell attained supreme power, opposed and hated by all parties, and by affixing an everlasting stain on the English revolution.

"Napoleon, on the contrary, ascended the throne by obliterating the stains of the French revolution, and through the

concurrence of all parties, who in turn sought to gain him as their chief.

"All the glory of Cromwell was bought by English blood; his triumphs were all so many causes of national mourning; but Napoleon's victories were gained over the foreign foe, and they filled the French nation with transport.

"Finally, the death of Cromwell was a source of joy to all England; the event was regarded as a public deliverance. The same cannot exactly be said of Napoleon's fall."

"If the national will had been expressed it would have swept away Cromwell and all his system" ("Cromwell" in *Encyclopædia Britannica*). Hallam ("Constitutional History") says the same.

87. Dissimulating.—"An uncle of Cromwell remained faithful to his king. His nephew sought him out with a small troop of horse; he showed him all the respect due to the head of a family; he asked for his blessing, but carried off notwithstanding the silver and the arms which he found in the house" (*Ranke*). Mr. Frederic Harrison notes that "the master of men is never wholly amiable or absolutely frank."

88. His early principles of lofty Republicanism.—When Waller was told by Charles II. that his praise of Cromwell was far better verse than that to his new king, he replied, "Poets, sire, succeed better in fiction than in truth." It is the same with biography—it is easier to chronicle a coming race than to throw off all the fetters of centuries and do justice to the mighty dead. (Even the imagination of Mr. H. G. Wells seems quenched when the hero of the Time Machine reverses the engines.) The summing up of Cromwell's character by Rapin, a brother soldier, is specially interesting in its struggle for impartiality, but much too long to quote. Respecting Cromwell's "strong bias to enthusiasm," he asks, "Who can affirm it was rather out of hypocrisy than real persuasion? We are not rashly to ascribe to men inward motives, which no mortal can know." He finds nothing very blamable in Cromwell's dissimulation, "unless it was a crime to leave it in the power of his enemies to destroy him with ease." Hallam, who, of course, had never seen Napoleon's Notes, elaborates the same idea, viz. that Cromwell's ambition was of gradual growth: "A train of favouring events, more than any

deep-laid policy, had now brought sovereignty within the reach of Cromwell. His first schemes of ambition may probably have extended no farther than a title and estate, with a great civil and military command in the king's name. Power had fallen into his hands because they alone were fit to wield it; he was taught by every succeeding event his own undeniable superiority over his contemporaries in martial renown, in civil prudence, in decision of character, and in the public esteem, which naturally attached to these qualities. Perhaps it was not till after the battle of Worcester that he began to fix his thoughts, if not on the dignity of royalty, yet on an equivalent right of command."

*S*9. *Reigning alone.*—"Men saw him do whatever he willed. They feared his long arm; they endeavoured to make his interests their own. He passed for an all-powerful, dreaded, vindictive, and infinitely ambitious ruler" (*Ranke*). What Guizot calls his pitiless sagacity is well exemplified in the trial of Lord Capell.

*S*10. *Buffoonery.*—"When he wished to win some essential point in his army, he pushed his complacency up to making corporal and sergeant sleep with him, that he might bend them to his system by his discourse and religious exercises. He often invited inferior officers to his repasts, and secretly ordered that the dishes should be taken away the moment they had been served on the table and taken to the common soldiers outside" (*Barrow*).

The mother of Waller, the poet, was, like Madame Mère, incredulous of her great relative's final success. Cromwell used to visit her at Beaconsfield, when she would foretell eventual failure. He used to throw his napkin at her, saying he would not argue with his aunt. He played snowball with his servants. His favourite home missiles were cushions. Sometimes he would have a red-hot coal dropped into one of his officer's boots.

One trait typical of Napoleon, and omitted in the Note-Book, is that "all the persons he employed, whether for the internal affairs of the kingdom or for foreign service, were men of consummate ability." Napoleon's trouble was that his stock of selection was very limited to begin with, and in the later years of the Empire practically exhausted. Barrow's final summing up is that Cromwell was, in a word, "the most singular

mixture of vices and virtues, of baseness and greatness, of absurdity and good sense."

*T*1. 1658 and 1659 are the two most doleful dates in our modern history—each what Carlyle would call "a mother of dead dogs." In his paragraph of thirteen lines Napoleon gives a digest of seventeen pages of Barrow, leaving out no point worth recording, and making himself much clearer than his author.

*T*2. *Richard.*—Strictly speaking, Richard had never possessed the supreme power. He was overthrown before he succeeded in acquiring it (*Ranke*). Hallam says exactly the same thing in other words.

*T*3. *Fleetwood.*—Cromwell's son-in-law, together with Desborough, Cromwell's brother-in-law, now led the army against Cromwell's two sons, who supported the civil side.

*T*4. *Lambert.*—The fact that Cromwell always thought it a favourable omen to have Lambert's concurrence shows that the latter had a strong independent judgment. In many respects he was a much more lovable soldier. Ranke looks upon him as after Cromwell the second man in England, and thinks that without Lambert Cromwell could hardly have become Protector. In June 1657, when Cromwell became practically supreme ruler, he recognised that Lambert was dangerous when he refused the new oath to the Protector. The latter was dismissed the army, with a retiring pension of two thousand pounds a year in lieu of the ten pounds a day he was enjoying. "So well did they cater for themselves" is Hallam's comment on these figures.

When, after Cromwell's death, Lambert met Monk on the Scottish border, the former was "restless, excitable, and ardent; Monk calm, clear-sighted, and taciturn. The one enterprising, of boundless ambition and high inspiration, yet unselfish in his aims; the other engrossed in the business of the moment, cold and calculating, and not free from a taint of avarice. . . . Lambert the more genial and brilliant; Monk had the sounder judgment" (*Ranke*). The people of Scotland, however, supported Monk to a man; Lambert got no sympathy from England.

*U*1. *Advanced on London*—where he had a veteran force of seven thousand men.

U2. The only man.—This eulogy of Lambert is entirely Napoleon's.

U3. Monk's projects.—The miserable plight into which Cromwell's family had already fallen gave Monk no inducement to follow in his steps. At heart, moreover, he loved the Royal cause, but he only worked openly for it when it was absolutely apparent that the cause would, with his aid, be successful. Hallam considers that Monk cannot be regarded in any respect as an estimable man—his later conduct in the matter of the Argyll letters being atrocious.

V1. The Quakers.—Barrow tells the story of the victim who, in imitation of Christ, tried to fast for forty days and nights.

V2. Naked in church.—"Crying that the Holy Spirit had inspired her thus to appear, as a sign for the people" (*Barrow*).

W1. Recognised the king.—The Newport negotiations with Charles I., mainly by the Scotch, *i.e.* the Presbyterian party, were taken as a base of negotiation. The restoration of the Stuarts was largely a Scottish revival, but at the back of all was the need of the old laws, the old mechanism.

W2. The 29th—his thirtieth birthday. Presented with a Bible, he said it should prove his rule of life. Probably no one believed him even at the time, but a figure-head was as much necessary to England at this time as a Mumbo-Jumbo to an African savage. "Where the word of a king is, there is power," Lord Manchester had just said in the House of Lords. Napoleon himself was to realise that the world is ruled by the imagination, and after a twelve years' course of Cromwell and civil anarchy, the country wanted a few doses of rose-watered imagination very badly. Oliver's army alone viewed Charles's home-coming sternly and sourly. "The fifty thousand fighting men, whose backs no enemy had ever seen," were quickly but cautiously disbanded, and became for the next generation each the master-craftsman of his new trade.

NOTES TO CHARLES II

"Of a tall stature, and of sable hue,
Much like the son of Kish, that lofty Jew;
Twelve years compleat he suffered in exile,
And kept his father's asses all the while.
At length, by wonderful impulse of fate,
The people called him home to help the state.
And what is more, they send him money too,
And clothe him all, from head to foot, anew."
—MARVELL.

*A*1. 1660. — This year died the king's sister, the Princess of Orange, by the small-pox. Her child became in due course William III., married his cousin, who, as Queen of England, died of the same complaint some thirty-four years later.

*A*2. *Ashley—i.e.* Ashley Cooper, afterwards Earl of Shaftesbury. Ashley had been a staunch Republican until Cromwell had refused him his daughter.

*A*3. *Sir Francis Hyde.*—Charles compelled his brother James to marry his daughter, Anne Hyde, whose hand he had sought, and to whom, Barrow adds, "she had accorded all the privileges of a husband." The Queen Mother, Henrietta Maria, was much annoyed at the match, nor was James himself specially delighted.

*B*1. *Lambert and Vane*—were not, strictly speaking, regicides. This is why, later, Napoleon calls the latter innocent, and Charles undoubtedly broke his word in allowing his execution. To prevent this being alluded to on the scaffold the drum was requisitioned. Cromwell's navy owed much to Vane. Hallam calls his execution "one of the most reprehensible acts of this bad reign."

*B*2. *The Act of Amnesty.*—John Milton narrowly escaped execution himself on account of his writings in defence of the late king's execution. Napoleon was not far wrong at St. Helena when he insisted that "the Infernal Poet," as he called him, was

a regicide. Goldwin Smith remarks, "How Milton, the great defender, if not the instigator of regicide, escaped is a mystery."

*B*3. *The property of Cromwell* — and of Bradshaw, Pride, Phillips, and Hazlerigg. Macaulay, in recounting these actions, speaks of Cromwell as "the greatest prince that has ever ruled England." As he does not say "the British Isles," it would seem that at least William the Conqueror, Henry II., Edward I., Henry VIII., and Elizabeth should be excepted from this sweeping statement.

*B*4. *Harrison, &c.*—Napoleon omits the name of Peters, which makes up the ten executed. Of the eighty regicides twenty-five were dead, twenty-nine safe overseas, and over twenty reprieved.

*B*5. *The constancy of Martyrs*—"who had suffered for the cause of religion and justice" (*Barrow*).

*C*1. *Catherine.*—"She was virtuous, but had no outward attractions" (*Barrow*).

*C*2. *Her dowry*—for Charles much the most important part of the contract. During his wanderings he had contracted debts aggregating three millions, on which he had to pay enormous interest. The outgoings of Charles I. had been about one million one hundred thousand pounds per annum, and Parliament thought that one million two hundred and fifty thousand should suffice, but it did not.

*C*3. *Three hundred thousand pounds*—in ready money, and, in spite of the enormous gifts of Parliaments, of a tax of two shillings a year on each chimney (save those of almshouses), and of exclusive rights of tonnage and poundage, he was already in need of it. The chimney tax alone brought in two hundred and fifty thousand pounds a year. This was the old "hearth tax" of Norman times.

*C*4. *Tangier and Bombay.*—With these and Jamaica England was now well fitted for controlling and developing a world-trade.

*C*5. *Sold Dunkirk.*—The price included the artillery and the provisions lying there at the time.

*D*1. 1664.—This year the Conventicle Act was passed, by which the Presbyterians could no longer have "nurseries or seed plots for their opinions." Barrow ignores all the "Clarendon

Code" — the Corporation, Uniformity, Conventicle, and Five Mile Acts. It is curious to note how with Barrow, the writer on voyages, everything gives place to a sea-fight; while with Rapin, a soldier, the very thought of describing one makes him groan and enter into elaborate explanations why such descriptions are beyond him. Bolingbroke remarks that what a man culls from his reading at twenty-five often differs enormously from what he finds interesting at fifty, and this remark seems very true respecting religious affairs in the reign of Charles II., in which, as Rapin says, three sets of historians (Tory "high-fliers," Presbyterians, and Papists) give entirely different versions of the same events. Ranke, however, considers that the religious question at this time was always the kernel of the political one. But after all it is better to have three conflicting views than to have lived in the days when every king's reputation was at the mercy of the monks. It has taken nine hundred years for us to learn, from the greatest historian of the Norman period during the interval, that William Rufus was a perfect gentleman.

D2. Harry Vane.—He was sacrificed to the shade of Strafford (*Barrow*), whose death he undoubtedly caused. Lambert lived a prisoner, mainly in Guernsey, for twenty years. He saved his life by turning Papist.

E1. Although war had not yet begun.—"Every unprejudiced person will easily perceive that the law of nations was never more unjustly or more manifestly violated" (*Rapin*). Having read English History as far as Charles II., Napoleon would never want precedents for the phrase "perfidious Albion." In a long life of prosperity, whether that of a nation or of a millionaire, there are generally dark corners to be rounded cautiously, and it has only been of recent years that a national historian has not mistaken his duties for those of an ambassador (as defined by Sir Henry Wotton), save that the utterances of the first were written instead of spoken. Beams and motes on each side must be recorded honestly and impartially.

E2. War . . . declared.—Sir Robert Holmes, with a squadron, had already seized New Holland and changed its name to New York (*Barrow*). Ruyter was with the English in search of the Algerine pirates when the news came.

E3. 1665.—The Plague of London is not mentioned by

Napoleon, and barely alluded to by Barrow, who as usual is anxious to get to the sea-fights. Ranke points out that it helped the failing fortunes of the Presbyterian party by affording "scope once more for the spiritual activity of their preachers." He accuses the Anglican clergy of fleeing from the pest and leaving the Presbyterians in sole possession of the pulpits.

E4. Near Colchester.—By this victory the Duke of York became the idol of the nation; and as the Queen had no children, he was looked upon as the heir, and was not allowed to run so much risk in a further action, and the command was given to the Earl of Sandwich. The English owed their victory largely to heavier artillery—a defect remedied by the Dutch before the next year's battles.

F1. Prince Rupert and Monk.—The battle of the first of June. The English had fewer ships. One of the features of the fray was the courage and activity of Monk, now Duke of Albemarle, "who, in his declining days, fought with all the vigour and fire of a youthful warrior" (*Barrow*). He could not, however, forget his old land battles, and "wheel to the left" was the phrase in which he ordered his ship to be steered to larboard.

F2. A French squadron—of sixteen ships. This was on the second. On the third the squadron of Prince Rupert came to reinforce the English. A thick fog ended the fight on the fourth day. The honours were unquestionably due to the Dutch, although both sides fought magnificently.

F3. The battle at the mouth of the Thames—on the 24th July.

F4. The English won—but Ruyter made a most skilful retreat. He had reason to expect Tromp, who failed to turn up, and who was afterwards arrested by the States General for his conduct. In two years this maritime war had cost England five millions sterling.

F5. A terrible fire—which began on the anniversary of Cromwell's Day, September 3rd, in the house of a baker in Fish Street Hill, near the Bridge. It was fanned by a strong east wind, and extended from the Tower, following the course of the Thames, to the Temple Church. To the north-east it raged from the city walls to Holborn Bridge. It destroyed four hundred streets. The fire was attributed by some to the

Republicans and by others to the Catholics. It lasted over four days. So far back as April 30th this fire had been foretold for September 3rd in the *London Gazette*.

G1. The Treaty of Breda.—Charles had appropriated to his own use the recent subsidies intended for the fleet, with the result that while peace negotiations were going on, Ruyter sailed up the Medway, and set London in panic, and then took ships all along our southern coasts.

H1. Clarendon.—The storm had been gathering for a long time. He had offended the better part of the nation by supporting the king in the sale of Dunkirk. Personal and political bias made him unjust to the great parties of Dissent.

H2. Too austere.—To prevent the king seducing the beautiful Miss Stuart, the Chancellor is said to have encouraged her secret marriage with the Duke of Richmond. Even the good-natured Charles could not forgive this—at any rate, not all at once—and Clarendon succumbed to the sarcasm which, as Macaulay says, "modish vice likes to dart at obsolete virtue."

H3. Sought refuge in France.—"Thus volcanic England threw on a foreign shore the man who had given her a royalist and ecclesiastical organisation. The historic merit of the Chancellor consists in this, that he united, after the most violent revolutions, the new England to the old" (*Ranke*). Hallam is rather severe on Clarendon. By his opposition to the Bill for prohibiting the import of Irish cattle, the Chancellor showed himself one of our first free-traders.

H4. The history of the Great Rebellion.—"A work worthy of admiration for its veracity as to facts, and for the graphic pen with which the author has delineated the different characters" (*Barrow*). Hallam absolutely denies the veracity, but admits the charm of narration. He is indignant that a stream should be poisoned at the source from whence another generation must drink. "Memoirs and history in one, a splendid memorial of the time" (*Ranke*).

J1. Clifford, Ashley, Buckingham.—Arlington and Lauderdale formed the Cabinet nicknamed Cabal.

J2. Buckingham.—His relations with Charles were a forecast of those of the Regent with Dubious (*Ranke*).

J3. The men of the Cabal.—"Lauderdale was a Presbyterian,

Ashley Cooper a philosopher, Buckingham, if he had any opinions at all, an Independent, Arlington a moderate Catholic, Clifford a zealous one" (*Ranke*).

*J*4. *Make himself independent*—of Parliament, but he was, through the newly imported favourite (now Duchess of Portsmouth) getting into the toils of Louis.

*J*5. *The expenses of the navy.*—It is at this time we begin to hear of the necessity of a two-power standard—*i.e.* as against Holland and France.

*K*1. 1671.—This year the Duke of York lost his wife, Anne Hyde, by whom he had eight children, of whom two—Mary and Anne—came in due time to the English throne. At this time the Duke became an avowed Catholic by means of the Jesuits, who threatened him that if he did not declare himself they would persuade the Pope to grant Charles a divorce from Catherine on account of sterility—a divorce he had sought after for years.

This year also died the Earl of Manchester and Lord Fairfax.

*K*2. *If it had been subdued*—because then at least they would have known the extent of their misery, and there was some satisfaction in that (*Barrow*). The speech was printed, but ordered to be burnt by the hangman.

*L*1. *The notorious Blood.*—He had tried to surprise Dublin Castle. His seizure of the Duke of Ormonde was intended to have a dramatic finale. The Duke had been kidnapped, and was being conveyed to Tyburn by Blood, to be hung on a gibbet, with a letter on his breast containing a list of his crimes, when he was rescued.

*L*2. *By his wiles.*—He told the king that he had determined to shoot him with a carbine, by hiding in the reeds while he was bathing in the Thames at Battersea, but was so filled with admiration at the beauty of the king's person, that he could not fulfil his vow. He also added that his confederates were bound by the most terrible oaths to avenge the death of any of them who fell at the hands of justice, and that no power on earth could stop their desperate resolutions. This argument probably appealed to the king even more than the other. Blood got an estate worth five hundred pounds a year in Ireland, while the octogenarian, Edward, who was nearly killed in defending the Crown Jewels,

got a verbal promise of two hundred pounds, which he never received.

*M*1. *France, England*—rightly called by Barrow an iniquitous alliance. Clifford and his friends suggested the seizing of the Dutch Levant trading fleet, worth one million five hundred thousand pounds, on its home journey. Charles sent a fleet under Holmes while peace was unbroken, but the Dutch were too well guarded and the project failed. The personal hatred of Charles for Holland was probably caused by the freedom of the Press in that country, the Press of England at this time being effectually gagged by the censor L'Estrange.

*N*1. *The Earl of Sandwich.*—This was the Battle of Southwold or Solebay. The Earl had advised the Duke of York of the danger of their position but was disregarded, and he had to bear the brunt of the attack. Having lost six hundred men, and the enemy having succeeded in attaching grappling-irons, he preferred blowing up himself, his crew, and his vessel to surrendering it.

*N*2. *Marshal D'Estrées.*—Barrow hints that his instructions were to watch the Dutch and English mutually destroy each other. Ruyter avowed that of the thirty-two sea-fights in which he had taken part this was the most hotly contested.

*O*1. 1673. — Peace with Holland signed (February 28, 1673–74), to the great joy of London. By it the Dutch agreed to strike their flag to an English ship wherever they met it, from Cape Finisterre to Van Staten in Norway. Captain Mahan has shown that in spite of her magnificent efforts these wars were degrading Holland for ever from the rank of first-class power. The end of all Charles's tortuous diplomacy was to build up the sea-power of France at the expense of that of the only Protestant State that could be a genuine ally for England.

*P*1. *There was a naval battle.* — Really three, those of May 28th, June 14th, and August 11th. In each case Prince Rupert was in command, and in the third battle he made the best fight of his life. The French as usual failed to support him. This August battle was probably as fateful for humanity as that of 1588 off Gravelines. Charles had twelve thousand men at Yarmouth, with which to invade Holland the moment England was mistress of the seas. Louis had already half-conquered Holland by land, and a great sea victory at this time would

undoubtedly have sealed the fate of the little Republic, and with it possibly that of Protestantism itself. This year the English took Tobago from the Dutch, and the Dutch took St. Helena from the English.

P2. Louis XIV.—He also promoted the match this year (1673) between the Duke of York and Mary D'Este, sister of the Duke of Modena, a Roman Catholic. This much incensed the House of Commons, who tried in vain to prevent the marriage. At St. Helena Louis XIV. was the only French monarch that Napoleon would compare with himself. He would have confirmed Macaulay's eulogy that "No sovereign has ever represented the majesty of a great State with more dignity and grace." Napoleon thinks, however, that almost every French king allowed women-kind to intrigue in politics. In gauging the age of Louis XIV., Macaulay points out that there was no United States of America, that Russia was to all intents a remote Arctic power, and that Prussia was barely more powerful than Saxony.

Q1. Little was required.—Read into the text by Napoleon, but the people were very bitter—largely owing to the Jesuit revival and the open partiality shown to the Catholics by the king.

R1. The severity of the law is moderated—"and where the cases are supposed to be tried by the strictest rules of equity and conscience" (a footnote of Barrow's or of his translator's).

S1. For the building of twenty ships.—The previous year Parliament had taken away the free use of Tonnage and Poundage Dues from the king, and allocated them to the maintenance of the navy.

T1. 1678.—A few months earlier had been celebrated the nuptials of the Prince of Orange with the Duke of York's daughter, Mary. The Duke had consented with reluctance.

This year was passed an Act to encourage the woollen manufactures, by which the dead had to be buried in flannel.

T2. Titus Oates.—Barrow is obsessed by this wretched impostor. For over a hundred pages he never gets well away from him—it is interesting to note the scant and fit space accorded to him by Napoleon. He was frightfully punished for his libels by the merciless James, but obtained a pension of four hundred pounds a year from William III.

T3. Bedloe.—Captain William Bedloe had been in the pay of the Jesuits. He died in 1680, still declaring that the Duke of York and the Queen were implicated in the Jesuit plots against the Crown.

T4. To be excepted—"declaring that his religion was a private matter between God and his soul; that it would never interfere with his temporal affairs, and would never be apparent in his public conduct" (*Barrow*).

U1. The Earl of Shaftesbury—wished the exclusion of the Duke of York and the succession of the Duke of Monmouth, "the favourite of the nation."

V1. Sir William Temple—was generally sent for when Charles had no other resource. In 1679 he advised the king to weaken the Opposition by taking their chief into his Privy Council, and this succeeded admirably.

Y1. The Habeas Corpus Bill.—Sent up by the Commons in 1674, but blocked by the Upper House to please the king for several successive sessions.

Z1. Charles dissolved Parliament—and at the same time emancipated the Press.

Aa1. Tories.—The term "was used to denote the opponents of the exclusion, because the Duke of York was regarded as the surest protector of the Irish rebels" (*Ranke*). This year saw also the birth of the words *sham* and *Birminghams*, words not as now sometimes synonymous, although the latter signified a tinkerer with the approved pillars of the Constitution.

Ac1. Rejected by the Peers—by sixty-three to thirty.

Ac2. Lord Halifax.—One of the few occasions in history where "oratory changed votes" (*Macaulay*).

Ae1. Dissolves and convoked.—The tenses are thus in the French text.

Ae2. Came to it armed—"and accompanied by their friends and partisans, as if they anticipated an immediate rupture. The representatives of London, in particular, made themselves remarkable by a numerous escort of men on horseback, wearing blue bows and ribands, with the words "No Popery, no slavery" (*Barrow*).

Ag1. The indictments presented to the Court.—Barrow's note continues: "When these are confirmed, they write at the

bottom 'True Bill,' and when they find them unproved, they write on the back 'Ignoramus.'"

*Ah*1. *Indictment submitted to the Jury.*—The London Sheriffs chose a jury after their own hearts. Later, Charles got Sheriffs among his own friends elected.

*Ai*1. *Charles triumphed.*—For imperceptible tact Charles had among monarchs few superiors. He knew just how far to go. What appealed to his people was that he was not merely a Bohemian, but a cosmopolitan. With one hand he could give Hobbes a pension, with the other welcome Catholic De Kérouaille or a Protestant Nell Gwynne. He patronised the Royal Society, a scientific association, which was to combat "the enchantments of enthusiasm," and while Prince Rupert perfected his "drops," Charles founded the Greenwich Observatory. Subsidised by France, he did not oppose a Dutch marriage for his niece. In the matter of divorce he would not accept the historic precedent of his queen's Spanish namesake. He said that he might as well poison her as put her away, and that to replace his tea-loving Katherine, the substitute would have to be not only his equal in rank but very beautiful indeed—a combination which he knew perfectly well was unavailable at the time.

*Ai*2. *Monmouth.*—By marrying Anne Scott, heiress of the Duchess of Buccleuch, he secured at least a share of her fortune of over ten thousand pounds a year. "No deaf nuts" in those days, to use a phrase of her future kinsman.

*Ai*3. *Howard*—"a man without morals" (*Barrow*), who betrayed his friends.

*Ai*4. *John Hampden.*—"Grandson of the famous patriot" (*Barrow*).

*Ai*5. *Russell.*—"His father, the old Duke of Bedford, offered to give the Duchess of Portland a hundred thousand pounds as a present if she could save his son's life. The king was jealous of the popularity of Lord Russell, and could not forgive his constant opposition in Parliament. Charles had mitigated the punishment of Lord Stafford to beheading, and Lord Russell had denied his right so to do. He now did the same for the latter, saying, "My Lord Russell shall see that I have that prerogative which he wished to refuse me in the case of Lord Stafford" (*Barrow*). His trial only lasted seven hours. We have already, in the

course of English history, found other parallels to the severity of Napoleon in the case of the Duc d'Enghien, and a further one in any detail might well be wearisome. Still this is one of the best. Charles, like Napoleon, had been unnerved by plots and rumours of plots against his life; Russell was the personification of dangerous opposition. Charles, in refusing pardon, said that he was using Russell as Russell would use him were he in his power, and the Duke of York stood by as Talleyrand to advise that the ruler might once for all confirm his authority by severity. William Russell was an infinitely finer and less intriguing type than d'Enghien, whose chief claim to mercy was that he happened to be the last of the Condés. In the Exclusion Bill debate he had said that though Scripture recommended that sometimes a man might die for the people, it never suggested that three countries should die for one man. James, who now ruled his brother, was little likely to forgive this.

*Aj*1. *Sidney spared the like fate.*—As was to be expected, Algernon Sidney died game, invoking the vengeance of Heaven on the murderers of an innocent man. He was one of Cromwell's veterans, and had been wounded at Marston Moor. Hallam thinks him unlikely to be innocent—at least of being open to bribery by Louis XIV. He thinks people are misled by his name having "so spacious a sound."

*Aj*2. *The Earl of Essex.*—Ranke, following Hallam, strongly repudiates suspicions of any death but suicide, by which his rank and estates were preserved to his children. When the coroner came to examine the corpse, he found the clothes missing, but was told that it was his duty to examine the body, not the clothes. The throat was cut from ear to ear.

*Aj*3. *The Duke of Monmouth.*—He and the Duke of York sought all means of gaining popularity. While the latter's horses were winning races in Cheshire, Monmouth went about the country touching children for the king's evil.

*Ak*1. *All the Charters.*—Having succeeded in getting a Tory Lord Mayor and Sheriffs, Charles began with London. He sent the Civic Council a Writ Quo Warranto—an order to produce their Charter to see that they had not broken its provisoes—which technically this corporation had done by exacting tolls in the markets, and by insufficient adulation of their monarch. The

London Charter was condemned in the Court of King's Bench, but Charles offered it back on condition that in future the election of Lord Mayor, Sheriff's Recorder, and Coroner should be subject to his approval. The Common Council found it necessary by a small majority (one hundred and one to eighty-three) to accept these onerous terms. As the other towns followed London, Charles could now practically ensure a Parliament after his own heart, so far as the boroughs were concerned. He treated the charters of the American Colonies in the same way, but here Lord Halifax opposed him. Jeffreys, on his return from circuit in 1684, was said to "have made all the charters, like the walls of Jericho, fall down before him, and returned laden with surrenders, the spoils of towns."

Ali. The death of Charles.—Rapin, after careful sifting of the evidence, seems convinced that Charles was poisoned—probably by the Catholics who, now that at last an English king was absolute, wished his faith to be openly their own. Charles was, in fact, wavering and chafing under his brother's rule. Ranke compares him in disposition to Goethe; Dr. Burnet, to Tiberius in person and temper, vices and fortune. The latter comparison of course is overdrawn. Left to himself Charles had always a kind heart, and, in fact, all the court could take liberties with old Rowley, provided they did not bestow their attentions on his fair kinswoman, Miss Stuart—the lady who did *not* wear green stockings! His last words were a courteous apology for the trouble he was causing.

Barrow points out that personally the king was always beloved, and that the country had never been so prosperous as during his reign. "He was a good husband, father, and master," although opinion may vary as to the first-named. He was the best of brothers all his life. He died in the communion of the Catholic faith.

NOTES TO JAMES II

*A*1. *James II.*—He was fifty-two when he came to the throne, strong and robust. He had fought under Turenne, and commanded successfully at sea. He was a hard worker.

*A*2. *His intention of maintaining the Protestant religion*—"and defending the liberties of the nation, for which he had already exposed his life on more than one occasion" (*Barrow*).

"I know the principles of the Church of England are for monarchy, and the members of it have showed themselves good and loyal subjects, therefore I shall always take care to defend and support it" (James's Declaration to the Council, in *Rapin*).

*B*1. *April 23rd.*—St. George's Day.

*B*2. *The crown was too big for his head.*—"It leaned sometimes on one side, sometimes on the other" (*Barrow*).

*C*1. *Deprived of their Charters—i.e.* the Boroughs had to elect whom the king chose.

*D*1. *It is in my power to pardon you.*—"Therefore say that which may deserve it," is what Burnet adds. James's first wife had been cousin to Ayloffe.

*E*1. *James, Duke of Monmouth.*—"Nowhere was Charles II. more heartily and deeply mourned for than at The Hague by Monmouth; for," adds Ranke rather cynically, "what every one laments in the death of another is merely his own loss."

*E*2. *Attempted a revolution.*—He landed at Lyme with eighty-three companions. At Taunton these had increased to five thousand, but few were armed, and Monmouth had obtained neither guns nor artillery for them.

*E*3. *Lost his head.*—A ghastly episode, worse than that of the old Countess of Salisbury some hundred and fifty years before. Jack Ketch, the executioner at the time, had a bad record, especially in his recent decapitation of Lord Russell. Monmouth therefore gave half the fee, with the promise that it should be

doubled if the work were well done. Three times the executioner struck, and then threw the axe down, but was compelled by the Sheriff to pick it up. The head was only severed at the sixth stroke (*Barrow*).

*E*4. *Feversham.*—Lewis Duras, Earl of Feversham, brother to the French Marshal of that name, and nephew to the late Marshal Turenne. At Sedgemoor Monmouth lost three hundred killed in the fight, a thousand in the rout, and a thousand prisoners. His cavalry, under Lord Grey, behaved very badly.

Feversham passed for a good-natured man, yet Macaulay tells how he promised a prisoner, a noted runner, his freedom if he could race with a colt of the marshes. For three-quarters of a mile the man kept even, and was then beaten. Feversham sent him to the gallows.

*E*5. *Kirke's Lambs.*—The Agnus Dei had been on the banners of the Tangier regiment to which Kirke had belonged (*Goldwin Smith*).

*F*1. *Jeffreys.*—He boasted that he had hanged more men than all the judges in England put together since William the Conqueror. Those he did not hang he caused to be whipped, and eight hundred "wild Whigs" were sent as slaves to the American plantations. Many men gave him their estates to save their lives.

*F*2. *Two hundred and ninety-two executed.*—This number were sentenced, and seventy-four actually hung in Dorchester. Just as Froude's most picturesque work is Mary Stuart's life in general, and her execution in particular, so Macaulay's is Judge Jeffreys' career and the Bloody Assize. We are significantly told in one case that the lady wore scarlet; in the other, the Hall of Judgment.

*F*3. *Two hundred and fifty were sacrificed at Exeter.*—Macaulay says two hundred and thirty-three were in a few days hanged, drawn and quartered. "At every spot where two roads met, in every market-place, on the green of every large village which had furnished Monmouth with soldiers, ironed corpses clattering in the wind, or heads and quarters stuck on poles, poisoned the air, and made the traveller sick with horror. In many parishes the peasantry could not assemble in the house of God without seeing the ghastly face of a neighbour grinning at them over the

porch." Jeffreys transported eight hundred and forty-one prisoners, and their fate was worse than those hung or flogged "through every market-town in Dorset." They were to be slaves in a West Indian island for ten years. Well might Churchill say that James was harder than marble. Even the queen begged for a hundred of these wretches, and, by selling them at an average of ten guineas each, must have pocketed a thousand guineas by the hateful transaction.

*F*4. *Exeter*—and Taunton (*Barrow*).

*G*1. *Parliament lost no time.*—Yet James himself had said that there were not more than forty members who would not have been his own choice. They had not only granted to him the enormous revenue enjoyed by Charles II., but added to it the proceeds of taxes on sugar and tobacco.

James wished to abolish the Test and Habeas Corpus Acts, and Halifax was disgraced for refusing to support him. Even Colonel Kirke refused to turn Papist. Louis's Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, which drove fifty thousand families from France and brought Rapin the historian to England, helped to swell the tide of hatred against Catholicism. As Macaulay remarks, the spirit of Gardiner and Alva was abroad.

*G*2. *Catholicism.*—James wished to make a convert of Colonel Kirke, but the latter said he had promised the Sultan of Morocco long ago to turn Mussulman if he changed his religion.

*G*3. *Cook, Member for Derby.*—John Cook, or Coke, one of the Queen-Dowager's Household. He said, "I flatter myself that we are all true Englishmen, and that a few high words will not frighten us from our duty." The rest of the House were so intimidated that he was sent to the Tower for speaking so boldly (*Barrow*).

*G*4. *Parliament was prorogued.*—Government had been defeated in both Houses.

*H*1. *Priests disembarked.*—Especially the Jesuits, who had already driven back Protestantism from "the Alps to the Baltic." Macaulay adds a brilliant account of their various victories. "They guided the counsels of kings. They deciphered Latin inscriptions. They observed the motions of Jupiter's satellites. They published whole libraries, controversy, casuistry, history, treatises on optics, Alcaic odes, editions of the Fathers, madrigals,

catechisms, and lampoons." The liberal education of youth passed almost entirely into their hands. As Moslem or mandarin, lama or Covenanter, there was no disguise they did not successfully wear, no secret they did not ferret out. Later, and like Napoleon himself, they visited men dying of the plague—but the latter had his courage unsupplemented by the crucifix. Father Petre was the Vice-Provincial who had the ear of King James. It is probable that had it not been for the more far-seeing wisdom of the Pope, James would have made him Archbishop of Canterbury at the time the latter was putting his Catholic favourites into the See of Chester and the Deanery of Christchurch. In spite of the strongest laws of Elizabeth and James I. against any Jesuit existing in England, one of their academies was formed in the Savoy.

H2. Ambassador to the Pope.—The Earl of Castelmaine. He got a most chilly and mortifying reception. He threatened to return, and the Pope's sole reply was that he must travel in the cool of the day, and rest during the heat, or otherwise the Italian climate would disagree with his health. This nobleman, with his fiery temper and his "wife with a hundred lovers," was hardly the man to send to a Spiritual Court. Nor was his remuneration (one hundred pounds per week) adequate at a Court where even the wealthiest prelates in all ages had found themselves short of cash in working the oracles of Saint Angelo.

I1. The Catholics were already powerful.—Pope Innocent had sent a Nuncio, the Count of Adda, who arrived at Windsor in his pontificalibus, with a cross-bearer before him, and a train of priests and monks in the habits of their respective orders (*Rapin*). In audience with the king he remained covered.

J1. James . . . abolished the penal laws.—His Declaration of Indulgence brought about what Macaulay calls an Auction. Church and Court vied in bidding for the support of the Puritans. William of Orange strongly supported the English Church, although he himself was a convinced Calvinist. In vain Dryden turned Catholic, and wailed over the milk-white hind and the cruel panther. "The Letter to a Dissenter," anonymously written by Halifax, found twenty thousand purchasers, and had twenty times more effect than the laureate's venal claptrap. Even the astute Churchill now began to throw out feelers to The Hague.

*K*1. *The Bishop of London.*—Henry Compton, the dauntless son of a dauntless Royalist, who died fighting for Charles I. As a matter of fact, he was under suspension so could not sign the Bishops' petition. This was against James's second Declaration of Indulgence (April 1688), which he ordered to be read two Sundays in succession in every church and chapel in the country.

*K*2. *Sancroft*—and the Bishops of St. Asaph, Ely, Chichester, Bath and Wells, Peterborough, and Bristol signed the Petition. Practically all the clergy of London refused to read the King's Declaration, and the few who obeyed soon read to empty pews. The bravest sermon of the hundred preached that Sunday in London was by Samuel, the father of John and Charles Wesley, from the text in Daniel, "Be it known unto thee, O king, that we will not serve thy gods, nor worship the golden image that thou hast set up."

*K*3. *Sent to the Tower*—because as Peers they refused to offer recognisances.

*L*1. *The accouchement.*—Maria D'Este (Mother East the people called her) loved to hear a fanatic's prophecy that she was to have twins, of whom one should be King of England and the other Pope of Rome.

*L*2. *A mere Court supposition.*—Nothing shows Rapin's absolute wish to be fair more than his summing up in James's favour on this point. As Rapin himself came over to England a few months later, his History at this point is very valuable. Mr. Gardiner is severe:[1] "It is no wonder if men received the news with incredulity, and thought that, as James had called into existence a sham bench of judges, and was preparing to call into existence a sham House of Commons, he had now produced a sham heir to the throne."

*M*1. *The tribunal.*—The Jury were all night making up their minds, owing to one of them (Arnold, brewer to the Palace) proving recalcitrant.

*M*2. *Holloway and Powell.*—This was in an early stage, when it was found impossible to find witnesses to swear to the Bishops' signatures.

*N*1. *A regiment.*—Lord Lichfield's.

*N*2. *Shouldered arms*—evidently an error, probably in copying.

[1] Gardiner and Mullinger, "Introduction to English History."

It should be *grounded* arms. James told the men that in future he would not honour them with taking their advice (*Barrow*). He replaced most of the regiment with Catholics (chiefly Irish), although the regiment (Twelfth) had been raised two years earlier in Stafford, the most Catholic county in England, and chosen for this reason.

*O*1. *Lord Herbert.*—Admiral Herbert, much beloved in the Navy, had thrown up his commission and gone to The Hague (*Barrow*).

*O*2. *Lord Herbert, Admiral Russell, &c.*—*i.e.* the men who joined William.

*P*1. *He re-established.*—He sent Lord Chancellor Jeffreys into the city to restore its Charter.

*Q*1. *On October 19.*—Their attempt was futile. The fleet was driven back by a storm. The landing at Torbay took place on November 5.

*Q*2. *The Prince of Orange.*—There are few more determined and more pathetic figures in history. The punishment and humiliation of France was his life-task, from which he never swerved. Absolutely impervious to fear, with manners blunter even than Batavian, his friendship with Bentinck is as beautiful and wholesome as that of Montaigne and La Boétie, or of Cromwell and Hampden. No man in Europe could keep a secret better—even from his wife, and especially when, as in the question of sovereignty, pride stood in the way.

*Q*3. *A fleet*—nearly twice as many men-of-war as were available on the English side. James, however, had a much larger army.

*Q*4. *A host.*—Rapin was amongst them, and has described the splendour of the armament.

*Q*5. *Torbay*—name that was to be for Napoleon "significant of much."

*Q*6. *Seymour.*—William's reception had been very cold, and he was half minded to return. Jeffreys had done his work so well in the West that there was little heart for a new rising in Devonshire.

*R*1. *The officers of the king's army*—of whom Churchill was the most important. Of him Goldwin Smith says: "In any other age his unscrupulousness would have been portentous."

No allusion to the treachery of Churchill is made by Napoleon, although it is related in Barrow. It is possible that, as the History stops with this reign, Napoleon did not recognise Marlborough under his earlier name.

R2. The king fled—to join his wife, who had already had a splendid reception from Louis XIV., who fitted up St. Germains, the home of his childhood, for the exiled family. James had begun to look on his son-in-law as a new Henry of Bolingbroke, and feared the fate of Richard II. On his first flight he was recognised and sent back to Whitehall—in some respects a more ignominious home-coming than Louis's return from Varennes a little more than a century later. Here James had the mortification of seeing his drafts on the Treasury dishonoured, and the army pass over to his rival. William, however, contented himself with sending James word to retire to Rochester. The Prince knew that his wife would hardly forgive her father's imprisonment; it was his policy only that she wished to see destroyed (*Ranke*).

S1. Members of Parliament during the reign of Charles II.—also the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and fifty of the Councilmen of the City of London.

T1. The Convention.—An expression first used by Charles II. to denominate the Restoration Parliament, which he was thankful to utilise, but loth to acknowledge as a Parliament, because it would involve a precedent. Ranke describes a Convention as "a Parliamentary assembly without the royal writ."

T2. A Speaker.—Mr. Henry Powle.

T3. Mr. Dolben—son of the late Archbishop of York, and a descendant of Holbein. As a Tory lawyer he wished it to be considered that the flight of James constituted his demise, a word which signified a voluntary laying down of office, not necessarily by death.

T4. Left the throne vacant.—Rapin gives at full length the long debates about the meaning of the word "abdicate," which the Commons insisted on, and which inferred a vacancy, and the word "desertion," which the Lords preferred, and which did not. Somewhat strangely, the majority of the Bishops voted for a Regency only.

U1. A new king was preferred—i.e. the majority against a

Regency was two votes. It was not till Mary had declared that she would not take precedence of her husband, and till William had declared that he would be nothing short of king, that the Lords yielded.

U2. Seven votes.—Hallam gives nine.

V1. James.—"He was brave, firm, energetic, straightforward, and sincere, save in matters where religion supervened, but he was always cruel, proud, vindictive, obstinate; although he would have been himself a faithful and obedient subject, he became one of the least suitable sovereigns to reign over a free people" (*Barrow*).

V2. The Tories maintained—that the king could never die, and that therefore the throne could not be vacant. William was ready to return home again, and intimated that nothing less than kingly power for life would satisfy him, and that he was not in the humour to be dependent on a woman, whoever she was (*Barrow*).

V3. Eleven votes.—Hallam gives fourteen.

W1. At last.—"After the Revolution England became practically a republic" (*Gardiner* and *Mullinger*).

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